

MEDITERRANEAN SEA



Atlas of the European Reformations

Tim Dowley



Atlas of the European Reformations

by Tim Dowley

Cartographer Nick Rowland FRGS

Fortress Press
Minneapolis

ATLAS OF THE EUROPEAN REFORMATIONS

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Print ISBN: 978-1-4514-9969-8

eBook ISBN: 978-1-5064-0291-8

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences — Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z329.48-1984.

Manufactured in China

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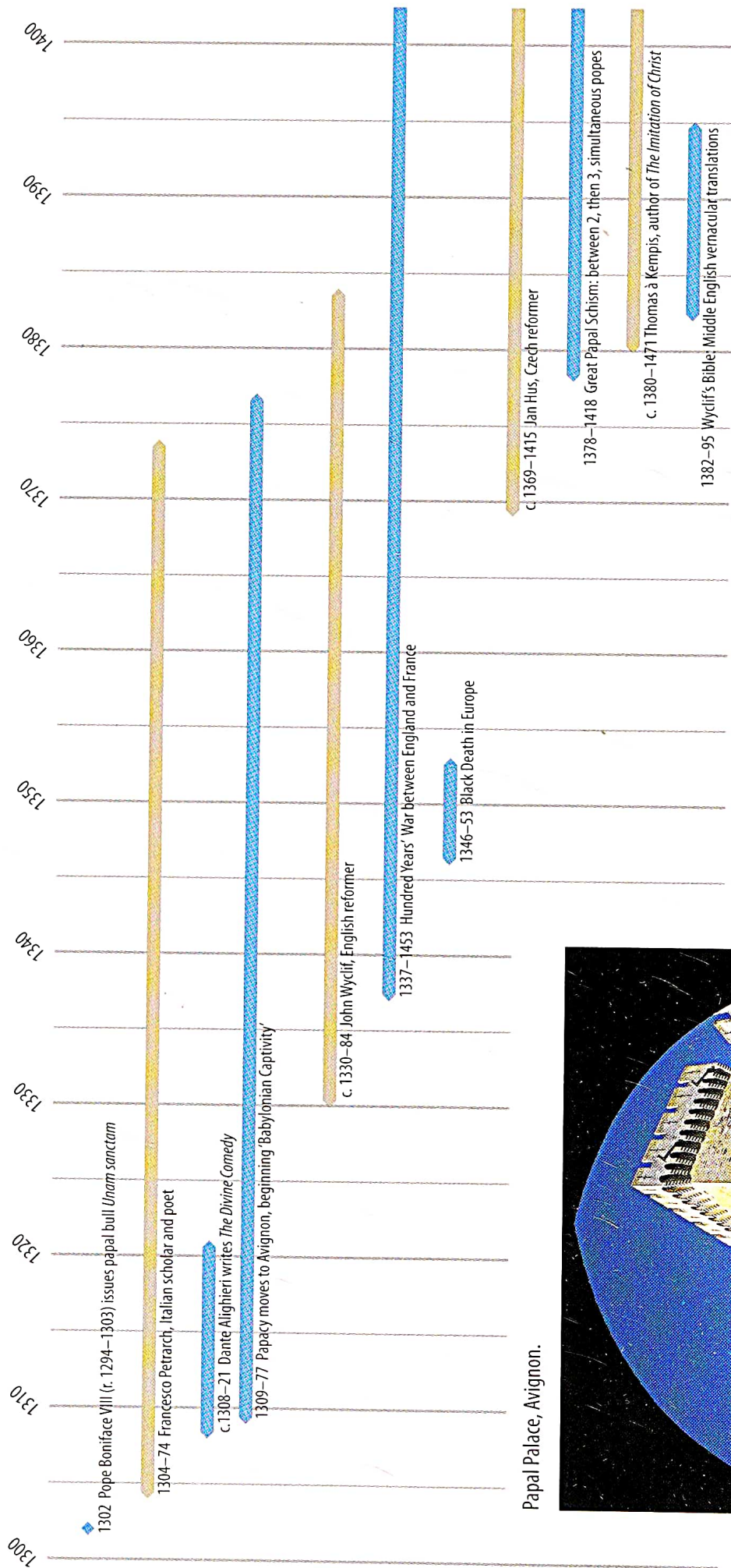
This atlas has been designed to examine the origins, background, beginning and spread of the Protestant Reformation. It looks at the repercussions of that movement on Europe and the wider world. The Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation are covered in similar depth and breadth, as are the political and military conflicts arising in part from these theological and ecclesiastical changes. An exhaustive timeline has also been included to provide a useful chronology of events.

We believe this atlas breaks new ground in being a digitally-designed and comprehensive historical atlas of the religious history of the early modern period in Europe and the wider world.

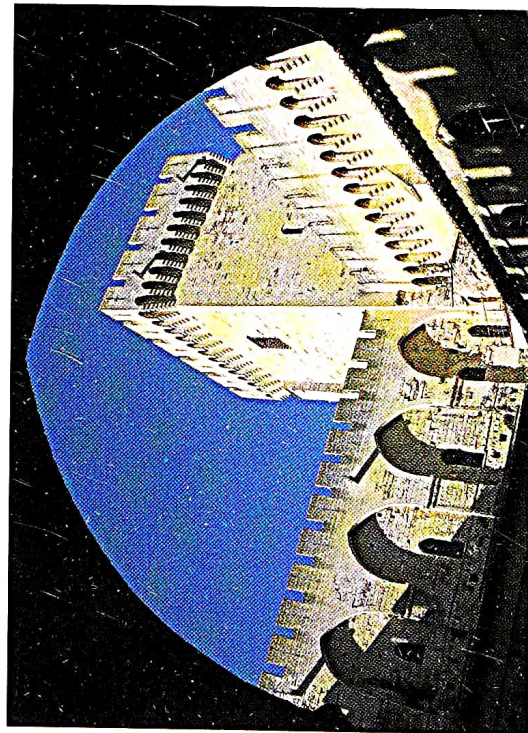
All research and writing has been undertaken by Tim Dowley. The cartography is the work of Cambridge-based Nick Rowland. Page layout and design has been carried out by Trevor Bounford of Bounford.com, while the index and gazetteer have been compiled by Christopher Pipe of Watermark. The academic consultant is Dr Richard Snoddy, London School of Theology.

March 2015

Timeline AD 1300–1700

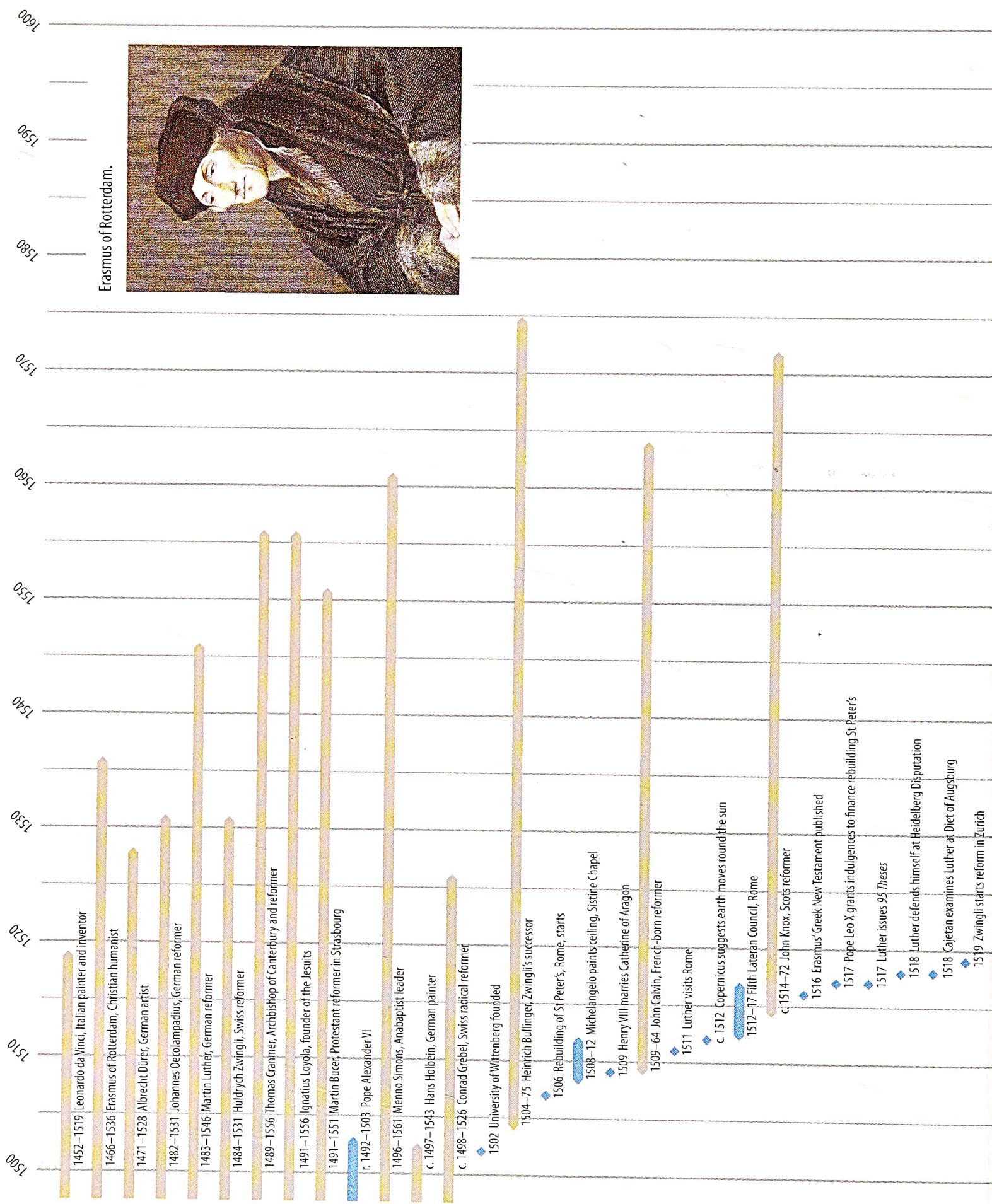


Papal Palace, Avignon.

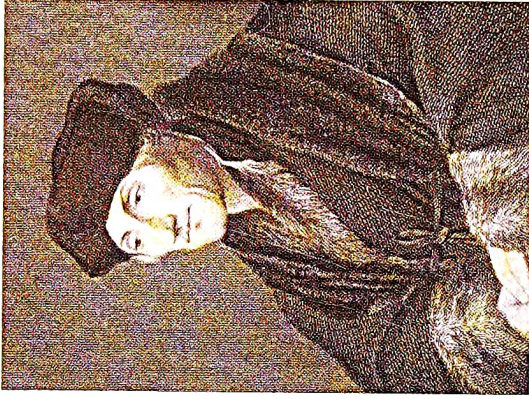


c. 1498–1526 Conrad Grebel, Swiss radical reformer

Quod in otio cum dignitate uel
mibi quoque initium requiescendi ac
nostrum preclara studia referendi
ab omnibus concessum arbitrareris
etiam etatis flexu constitisset quam spe
cōsistorum meorum cum graui col
et tranquillitatis casus fefellerat. ¶ Non
mole molestiarum et turbulentiæ
otū datū est ad eas artem
celebrandam.



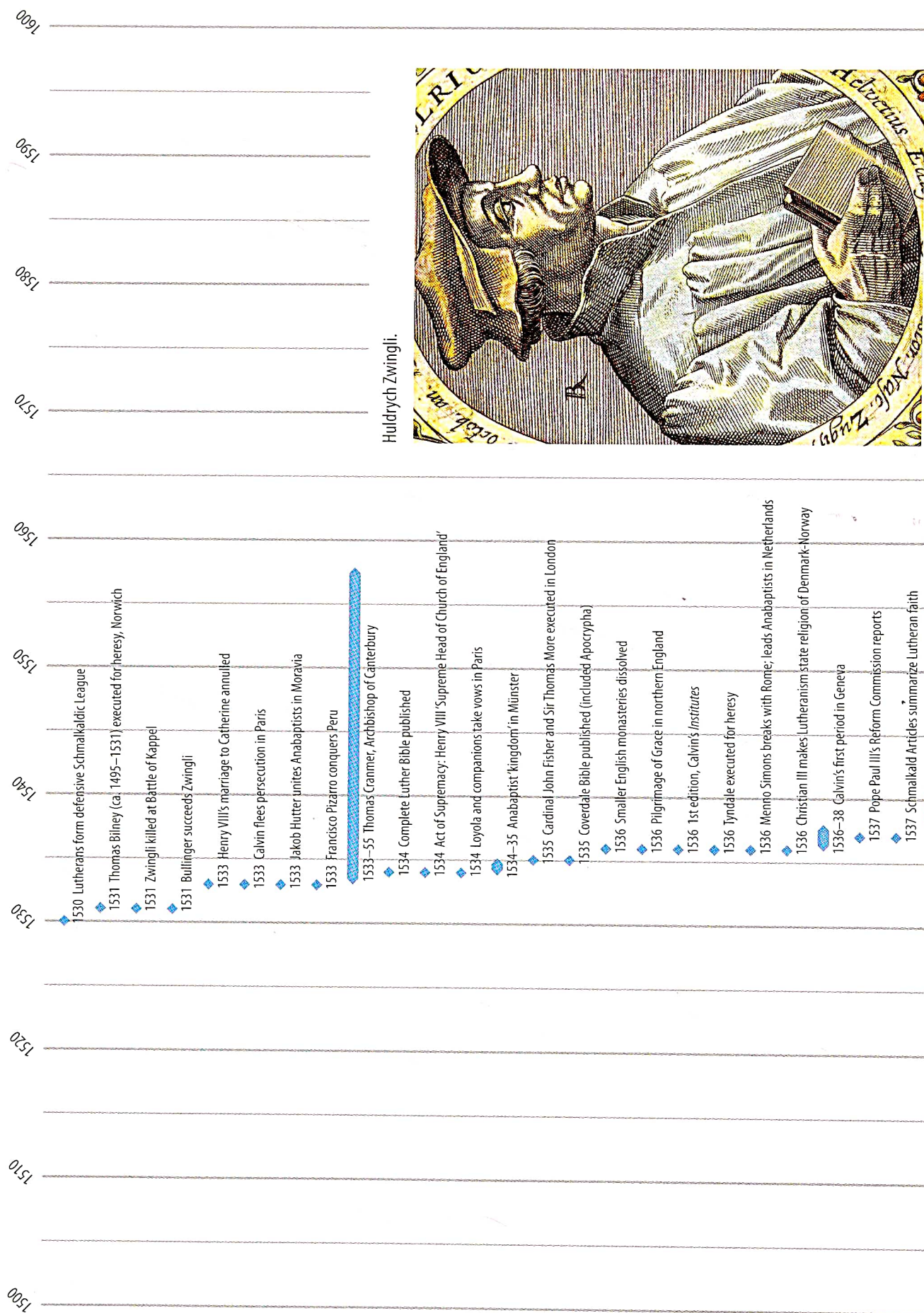
Erasmus of Rotterdam.



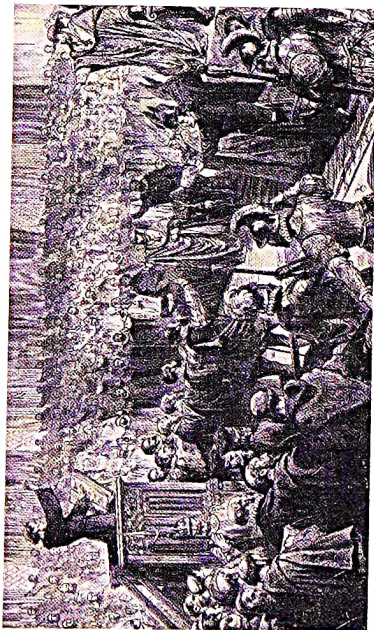
- 1519 Luther disputes with Eck at Leipzig Debate
- 1519–56 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor
- 1519–21 Spain conquers Mexico
- 1520 Leo X censures Luther in bull *Exsurge Domine*
- 1520–66 Suleiman I ('the Magnificent') Sultan of Ottoman Empire
- 1521 Luther refuses to recant at Diet of Worms
- 1521 Luther in protective custody at Wartburg
- 1521 Leo X names Henry VIII 'Defender of the Faith'
- 1521 Magellan claims Philippines for Spain
- 1521 Ottomans capture Belgrade
- 1522 Luther's German New Testament published
- 1524 Erasmus publishes *On Free Will* against Luther
- 1524–5 Peasants' War in Germany
- 1525 Luther marries Katharina von Bora
- 1525 Luther replies to Erasmus in *The Bondage of the Will*
- 1525 First Anabaptist in Zürich
- 1526 Tyndale's English New Testament published
- 1526 First Lutheran preaching in Denmark
- 1526 Protestant League of Torgau formed
- 1526 Diet of Speyer postpones enforcement of Edict of Worms
- 1527 Reformation begins in Sweden
- 1527 Mutinous German and Spanish troops sack Rome
- 1528 Reformation in Bern
- 1529 Luther and Zwingli differ on Eucharist at Marburg Colloquy
- 1529 2nd Diet of Speyer 'Protestation': origin of term 'Protestant'
- 1529 Reformation in Basel completed
- 1529 Ottomans besiege Vienna
- 1529–36 Reformation Parliament in England
- 1530 Augsburg Confession, primary Lutheran statement of faith



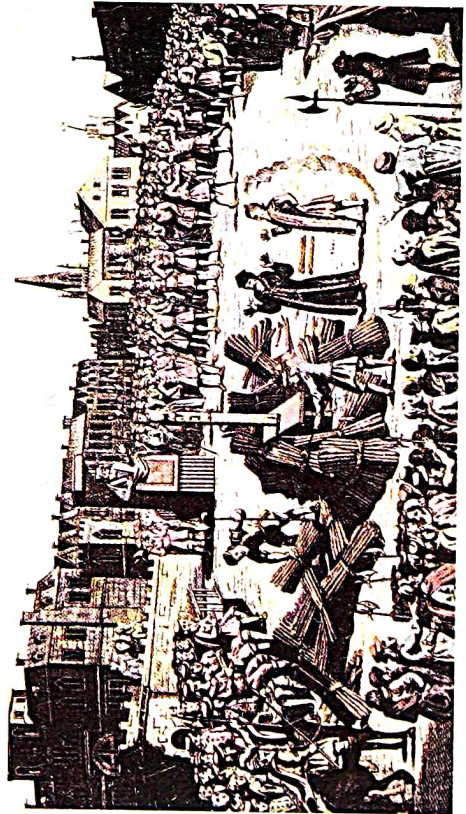
Luther and Zwingli debate at the Marburg Colloquy.



Council of Trent.

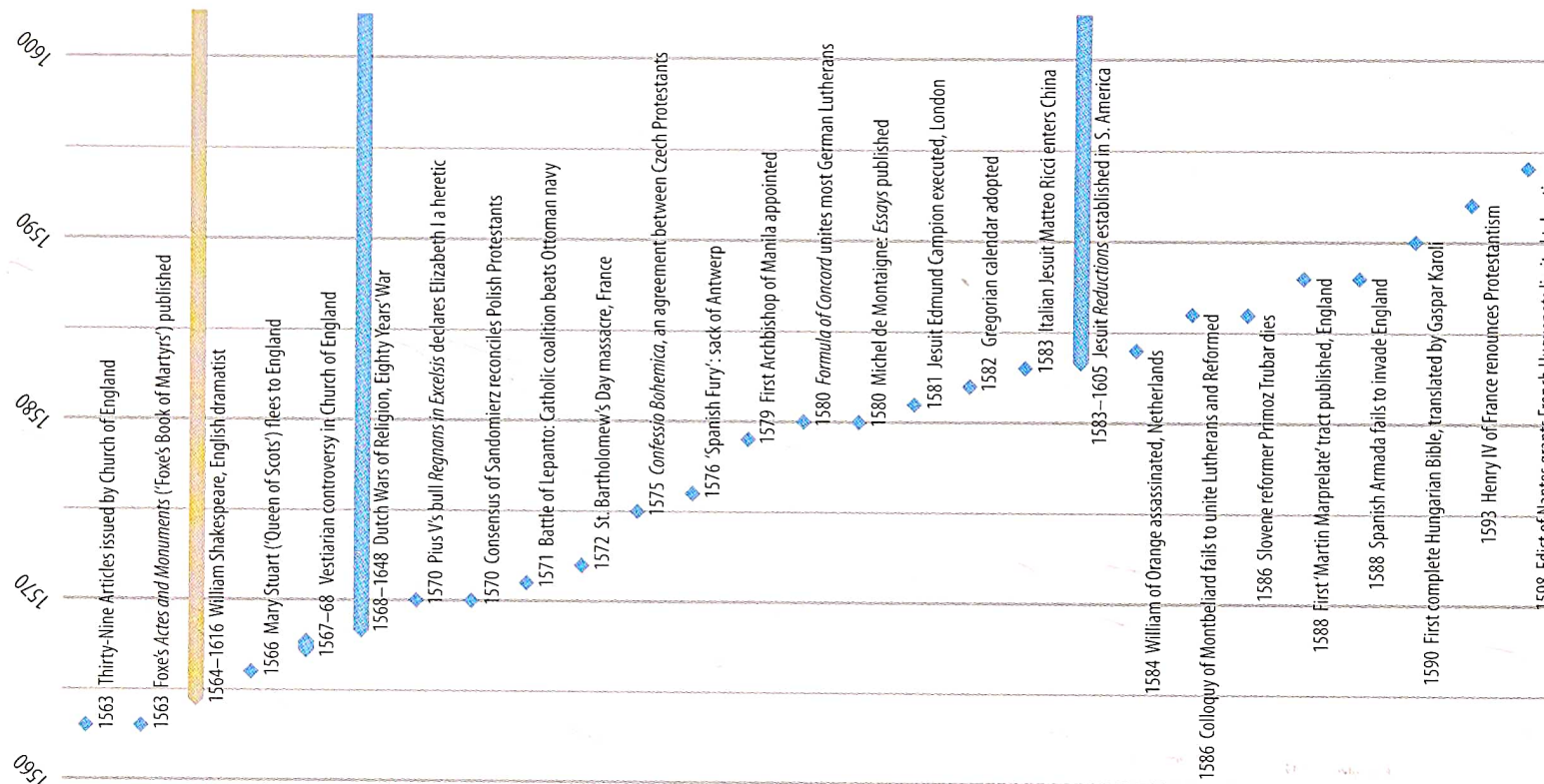
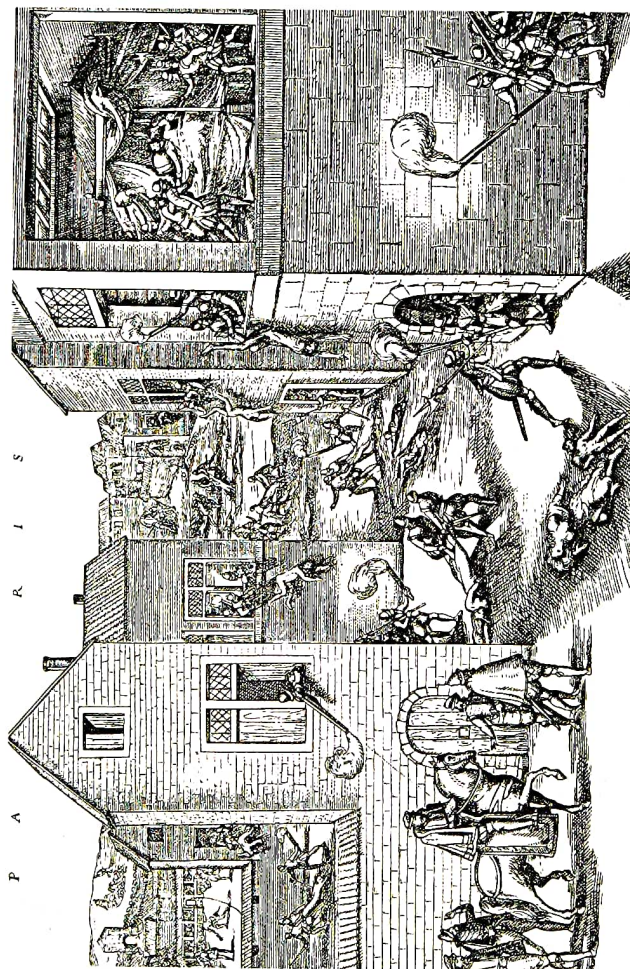


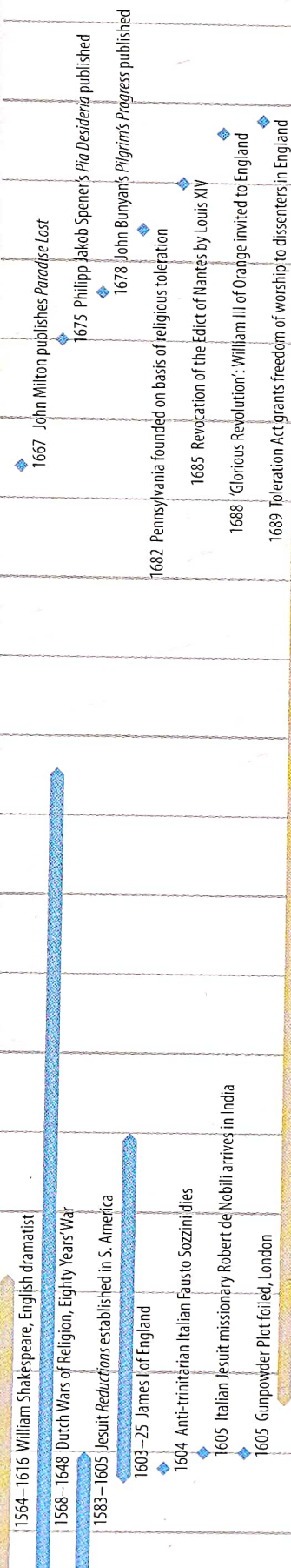
Protestant martyrs in Oxford.



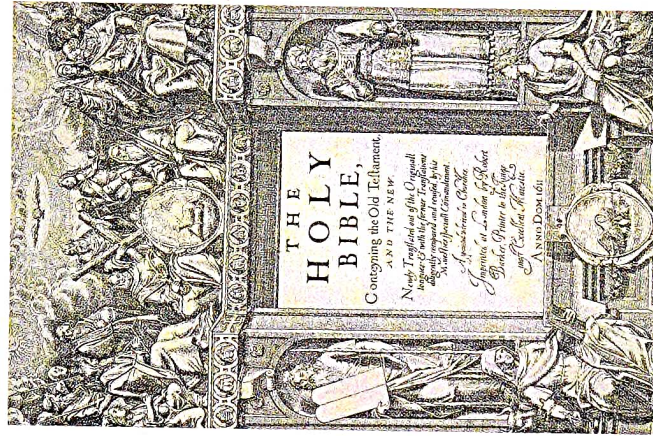
- ◆ 1542 Francis Xavier (1506–52) arrives in Goa
- ◆ 1542 Paul III establishes permanent Inquisition
- ◆ 1543 Luther writes *On the Jews and Their Lies*
- ◆ 1545–47 First session of Council of Trent
- ◆ 1546 George Wishart, Scots reformer, burnt at stake
- ◆ 1547–53 Edward VI reigns in England
- ◆ 1548 Augsburg Interim
- ◆ 1549 Consensus Tigurinus document by Calvin and Bullinger
- ◆ 1549 First English Prayer Book published
- ◆ 1549 Xavier arrives in Japan
- ◆ 1551–52 2nd session of Council of Trent
- ◆ 1552 Bartolomé de Las Casas publishes *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*
- ◆ 1553 Anti-trinitarian Michael Servetus executed, Geneva
- ◆ 1553–58 Mary Tudor reigns in England – Edwardian Reformation reversed
- ◆ 1555 Peace of Augsburg ends first religious war
- ◆ 1555 Augsburg Settlement allows rulers to decide religion of their region
- ◆ 1555 Johann Sleidan publishes first history of Reformation
- ◆ 1556 Thomas Cranmer executed
- ◆ 1558–1603 Elizabeth I reigns in England
- ◆ 1558 Act of Supremacy: Elizabeth 'Supreme Governor of Church in England'
- ◆ 1558 Final edition of Calvin's *Institutes*
- ◆ 1558 John Knox returns to Scotland
- ◆ 1560 Geneva Bible published; first printed with verse divisions
- ◆ 1561 Colloquy of Poissy
- ◆ 1561 Belgic Confession of Reformed faith
- ◆ 1562–63 3rd session of Council of Trent
- ◆ 1562 Teresa (1515–1582) founds reformed convent at Avila
- ◆ 1562–98 Wars of Religion in France
- ◆ 1563 Heidelberg Catechism of Reformed churches

St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Paris.





King James Version of the Bible.



Between 1350 and 1650 the church in Western Europe experienced significant administrative, moral, and doctrinal reform that brought major changes to the church. These reforms were accompanied by conflict between those committed to the beliefs and practices of the medieval church and those persuaded that major doctrinal and moral reform was necessary. Conflict also arose between those committed to different approaches to reform and to different theologies.

This Reformation resulted in a lasting schism in the church in Western Europe that had essentially remained unified for more than one thousand years. The existence of more than one Christian church was difficult to accept after a millennium of religious unity, and only reluctantly was it acknowledged when it became increasingly clear that neither dialogue nor suppression could restore the church's unity. Religious divisions – together with political, social, and economic factors – led to military conflict that plagued Europe between 1550 and 1648.

The first section of this atlas surveys the pre-Reformation period: the setting in which the events took place, late medieval society, the role of the church in that society, and the various reform movements of the late Middle Ages. Although the late medieval church met the religious needs of society more adequately than many historians have been willing to concede, people were sufficiently alienated from the church to support the Protestant Reformation.

The second section of this book examines the outbreak of the sixteenth-century Reformation. Martin Luther was of course the primary protagonist in the events that resulted in this lasting schism in the church, believing that the teachings of the church had been distorted during the Middle Ages and needed to be brought back into line with Scripture. There soon appeared a number of different reform movements and a great expansion of the Reformation churches. Lutheranism spread

through much of Germany and Scandinavia, and new urban movements appeared in Switzerland and Germany. Radical reform movements sprang up throughout Europe, led by people who rejected the 'Magisterial Reformers' who worked with the magistrates or rulers. In Geneva, John Calvin led a reform movement that was soon imitated in much of Europe. Henry VIII initiated a Reformation in England for reasons that had little to do with church reform, but the English church also experienced a Protestant Reformation which reached fruition in the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth. A Protestant Reformation was also firmly established in Scotland.

The Roman Catholic Church was stimulated to reform itself – and also to respond to the rapid growth of Protestantism – movements which are covered in section three. When attempts to heal the breach between the Church of Rome and the growing Protestant movement failed, the papacy called the reforming Council of Trent, which defined the theology of the medieval church in opposition to Protestantism and encouraged moral and spiritual reform within the Roman Catholic Church. The discovery of the Americas led to a new interest in spreading the gospel abroad. The Society of Jesus – the Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola – took the lead within the Catholic Church and sent missionaries to the Americas, India, China, and Japan. Protestants attempted to bring the gospel to Native Americans in the English colonies.

One result of the competing reform movements was theological and military conflict, dealt with in the final section of this atlas. In addition to theological conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists engaged in ferocious debates, and there were also deep divisions within both Lutheranism and Calvinism, while all parties were critical of the Anabaptists and persecuted them. For their part, Anabaptists were divided among themselves and on occasion resorted to violence in pursuing their objectives.

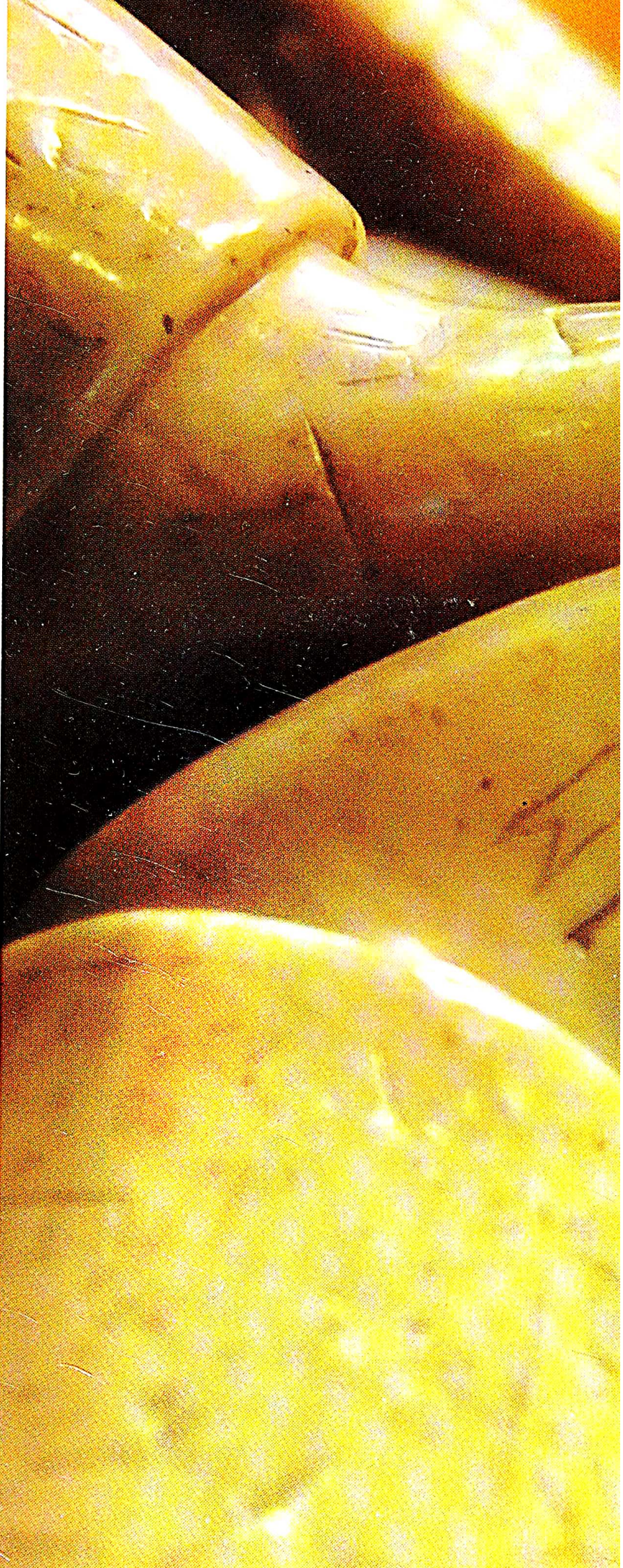
During the second century of the Reformation era, Germany, France,

the Netherlands, and England were all convulsed by religious wars. When neither side was able to overcome the other, they had eventually to agree to compromise settlements, dividing the respective areas between the competing confessions. Only the English Civil War, fought between Protestants, had a different result. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the Thirty Years' War, is a clear concluding point for the Reformation era on the European continent; in England it comes ten years later, as the Civil War was followed by the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660.

Before the Reformation

*O quam cito transiit
gloria mundi.*

Oh how quickly the
world's glory passes away.



During the age of Charlemagne and the tenth and eleventh centuries, education in Christian Europe was based mainly in monasteries and cathedral schools – largely the former until the eleventh century. A learned monk would teach novices (new monks) and if he were well known adult monks from other houses would also come to study under him. Other young men from wealthy families would be sent to study under a monastic tutor.

By the twelfth century, cathedral schools had overtaken the monastic establishments. The chancellor – chief cathedral dignitary after the bishop and dean – taught the seven liberal arts and theology to advanced students, while other teachers instructed younger scholars in Latin grammar. Most students were destined to become clerics. A licence to teach, given by the chancellor, was the predecessor of a university degree. During the eleventh century, the leading cathedral schools in northern Europe were at Laon, Paris, Chartres, and Cologne. Debates there reawakened intellectual life in Europe, drawing on the philosophy of ancient Greece, the Bible, and the teachings of the early Christian writers.

First universities

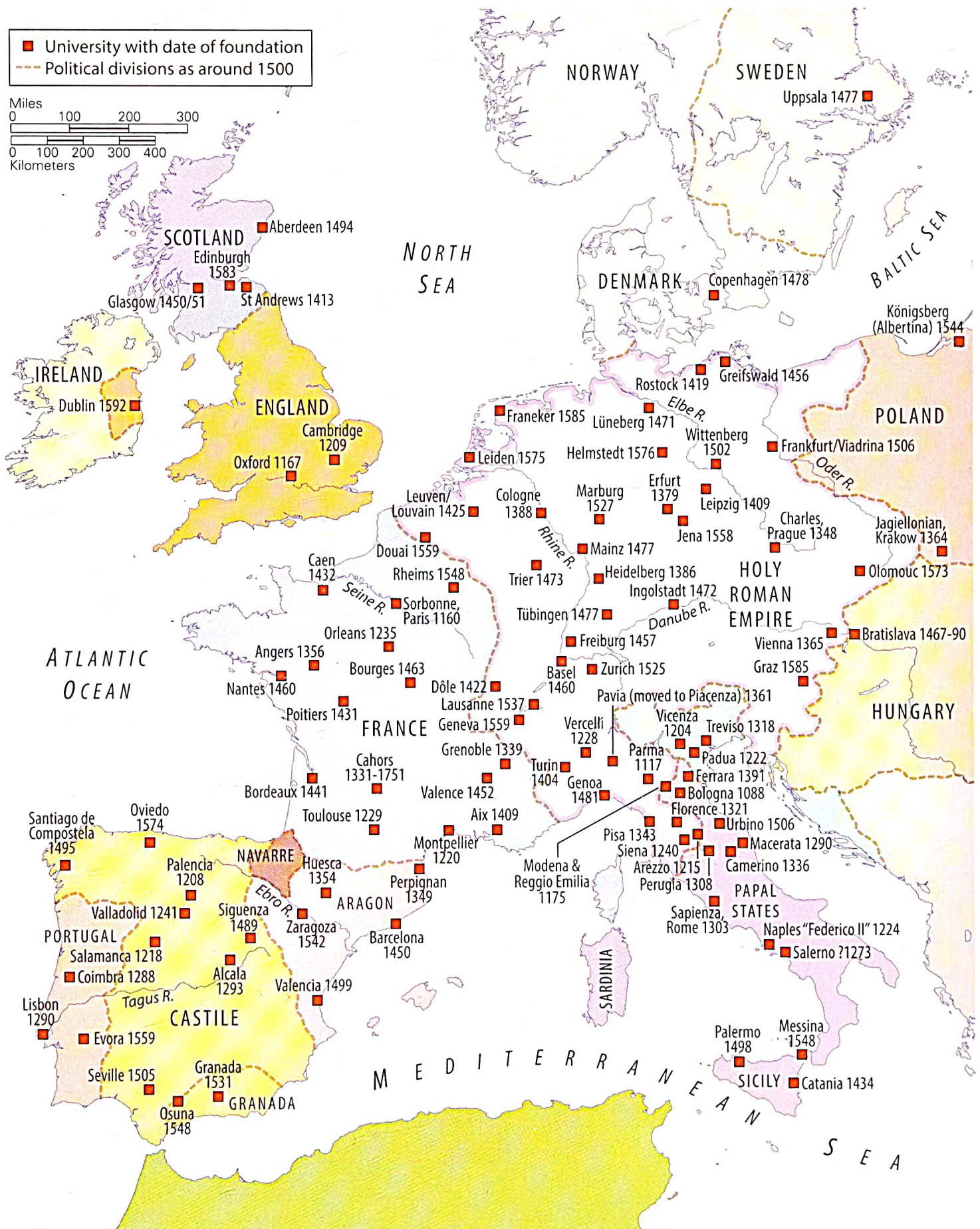
The cathedral schools culminated in the founding of the first universities. The term *universitas* was used to describe a guild or corporation of teachers or scholars who banded together. A city with a well-known cathedral might become the centre for a number of schools. At first scholars rented rooms and students would pay to come and listen to their lectures. Guilds of professors organized the universities of northern Europe, while in Italy the students themselves formed the guilds. The first universities obtained a charter from the pope; those established later applied to the secular ruler.

The gradual development of universities makes it difficult to date them precisely, but among the first were Bologna, Paris, Salerno, Oxford, Cambridge, Montpellier, Padua,

Salamanca, and Toulouse. The universities taught the seven liberal arts – a late Roman curriculum that included grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. However logic, or philosophy, tended to dominate undergraduate education. Graduate faculties taught medicine, law, and theology.

Medieval universities were relatively small by modern standards, the largest having between 3,000 and 4,000 students. At Paris, a boy could begin his studies at the age of twelve, but the privilege of lecturing on theology was not granted until a man (there were, of course, no female students) was thirty-five.

Paris was the most important place of learning, adopted by both Franciscans and Dominicans as their main training centre. Major scholars of this period who studied or taught at Paris include William of Ockham (c. 1288–c. 1348), Anselm of Bec (1033–1109), Peter Abelard (1079–1142), Peter Lombard (1100–60), Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–80), Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308), Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), and Lothar of Segni (later Pope Innocent III, r. 1198–1216). Their legacy, a systematic account known as ‘scholasticism’, attempted to harmonize the theology of Augustine with the philosophy of classical Greek thinkers, especially Aristotle. The synthesis of Catholic dogma and reasoning by logic was the achievement of Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*, a cornerstone of future Catholic theology – though some of his own teachings were listed in the Condemnations of 1277.



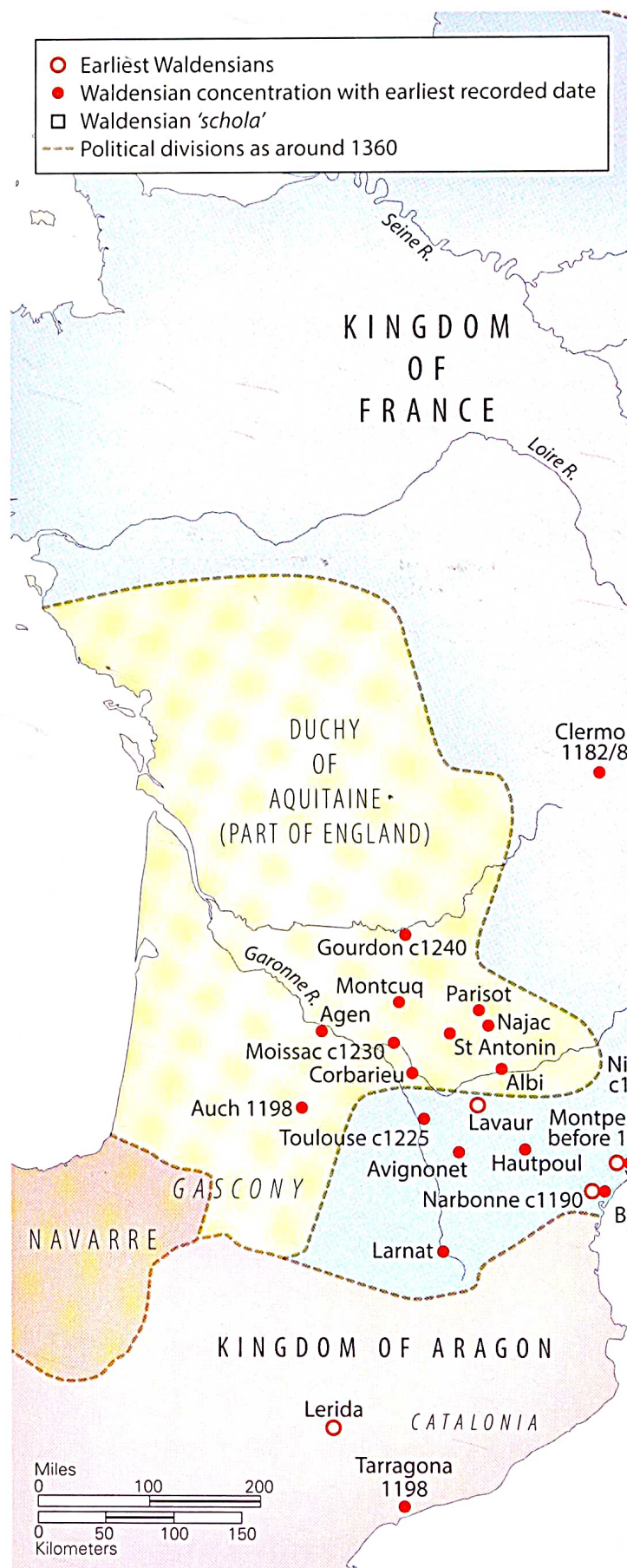
Around 1175 a merchant of Lyons, Peter Waldo (or Valdes, c. 1140–c. 1218), gave away his wealth to lead a life of poverty and preaching. He had vernacular translations made from the Latin New Testament and soon attracted many followers. But in little more than a decade what began as an enthusiastic popular movement had been branded as heresy.

Waldo's followers, the 'Waldensians', fled Lyons and started to organize as a church, spreading into two regions noted for unorthodox beliefs – Lombardy and Provence. By the end of the thirteenth century, though hounded by the newly strengthened Inquisition, the Waldensians had spread to much of Europe except Britain.

The greatest objection to the Waldensians, who began within the church, was that they ended up by rejecting that church. Unauthorized preaching from the Bible and the rejection of the mediating role of the clergy were major issues that gained them the reputation of heretics.

In the decades around 1400, in the Waldensians' main region, central and eastern Europe – particularly Bohemia, Moravia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Austria – they were widely persecuted by the Inquisition. During the fifteenth century Waldensians remained active in this region, exchanging ideas with the Hussites and helping create the charged atmosphere in which the great religious changes of the sixteenth century were to occur. In France the Waldensians continued to be harassed until the end of the Middle Ages, while in Italy they took refuge in the region of Piedmont, where they were attacked in 1488.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WALDENSIANS





Important in preparing the way for the Reformation was the rise in northern Europe of a movement known as the *Devotio Moderna* ('the modern way of serving God'), a spiritual revival that began within the Catholic Church in the late fourteenth century, strongly emphasizing personal devotion and social involvement, especially in education.

Geert Groote (1340–84), from Deventer in the Netherlands, who had studied at Paris, had a religious experience in 1374 that led him to devote himself to practical piety. In his house at Deventer he gathered a community of poor women to live the common life together, without taking the vows of a convent.

Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293–1381), a Flemish mystic, and Florens Radewijns (c. 1350–1400), an ordained priest with organizing ability who had studied at Prague, both associated with Groote, who now founded a semi-monastic community of men, both lay and clergy, which now became known as the Brethren of the Common Life (Latin, *Fratres Vitae Communis*). When Groote died of plague, Radewijns took over leadership of this movement. They observed the threefold rule of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but were not bound by a formal vow. Any member was free to leave the brotherhood and return to secular life if he wished. In 1387 Radewijns founded the group's most influential house, at Windesheim, near Zwolle, and members became Augustinian canons, with constitutions approved by Pope Boniface IX in 1395. A few years later they combined with other

houses in the Low Countries to form the 'Congregation of Windesheim'.

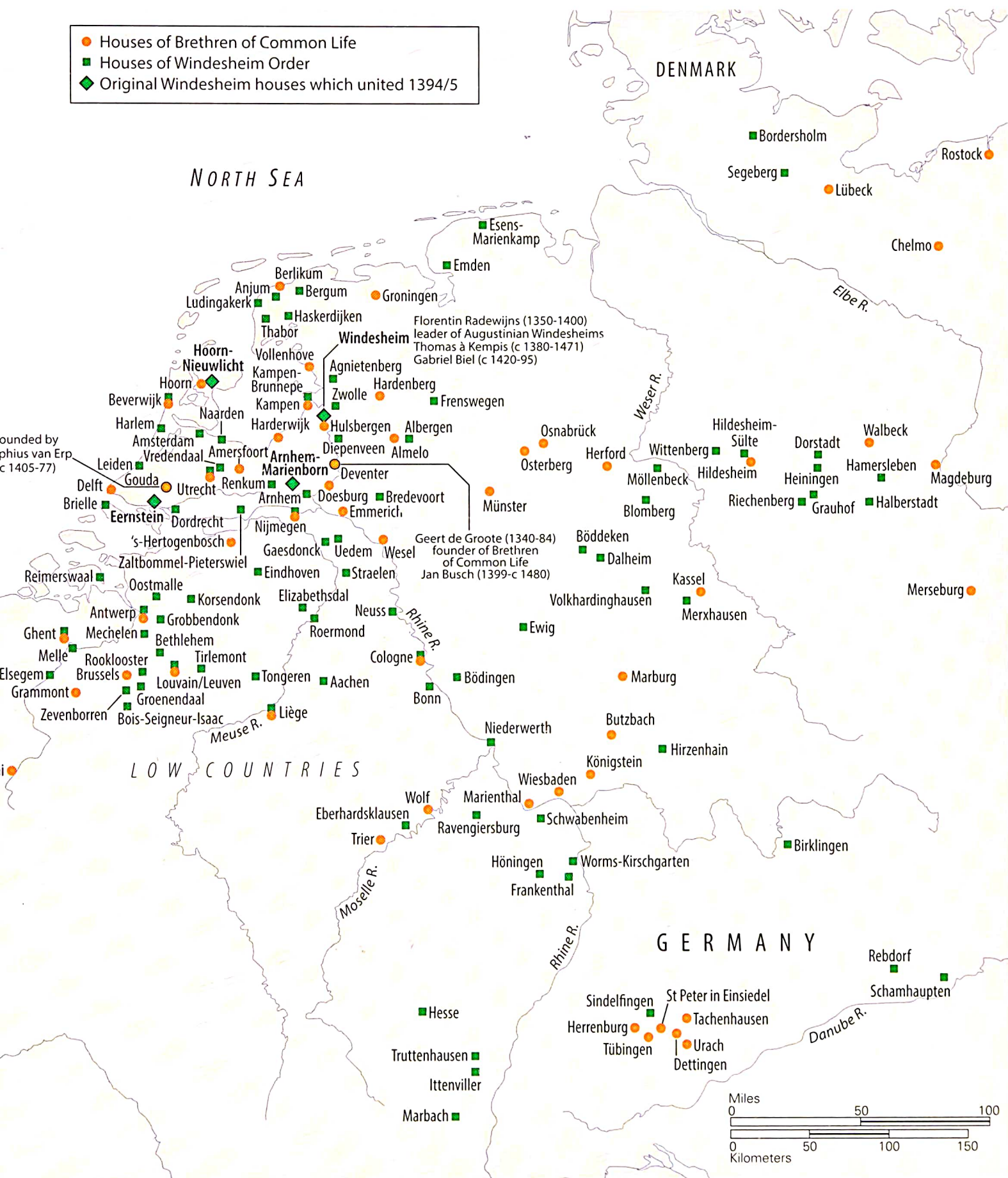
The members dedicated themselves to education and to spiritual discipline, renouncing the world. To support their community, they busied themselves with book-production: writing, copying manuscripts, binding, and marketing, and – with the advent of printing – operating their own press. In time the movement spread and during the fifteenth century the Windesheim Canons set up communities in Germany and Switzerland.

Many Brethren of the Common Life and those educated by them left their mark on the Christian world. Foremost of these were the philosopher and theologian Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536). Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–95), the philosopher known as 'the last German scholastic', and the humanist Rodolphus Agricola (1444–85) were both members of the community; the best elements of scholasticism and humanism co-existed in the *Devotio Moderna*. Perhaps the figure who best sums up the *Devotio Moderna* is Thomas Haemerken (c. 1380–1471), better known as Thomas à Kempis, author of *The Imitation of Christ*, the most popular devotional handbook of the Middle Ages.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE

map 3

- Houses of Brethren of Common Life
- Houses of Windesheim Order
- ◆ Original Windesheim houses which united 1394/5



Crisis of the Papacy

The thirteenth century ended with the election and unheard-of abdication of Pope Celestine V in 1294. This threw the first pope of the fourteenth century, Boniface VIII (1294–1303), under a cloud of uncertainty. Papal and royal policies soon came into conflict; undignified squabbles recurred till the end of the Middle Ages.

Boniface's bull *Clericis laicos* (1296) limited the power of kings to tax their clergy while *Unam sanctam* (1302) epitomized extreme papal claims. Philip the Fair of France (r. 1285–1314) attacked the pope, who escaped from Anagni, Italy, to Rome, but died there shortly after. Political instability in Italy and the Papal States now rendered the papal seat in Rome untenable.

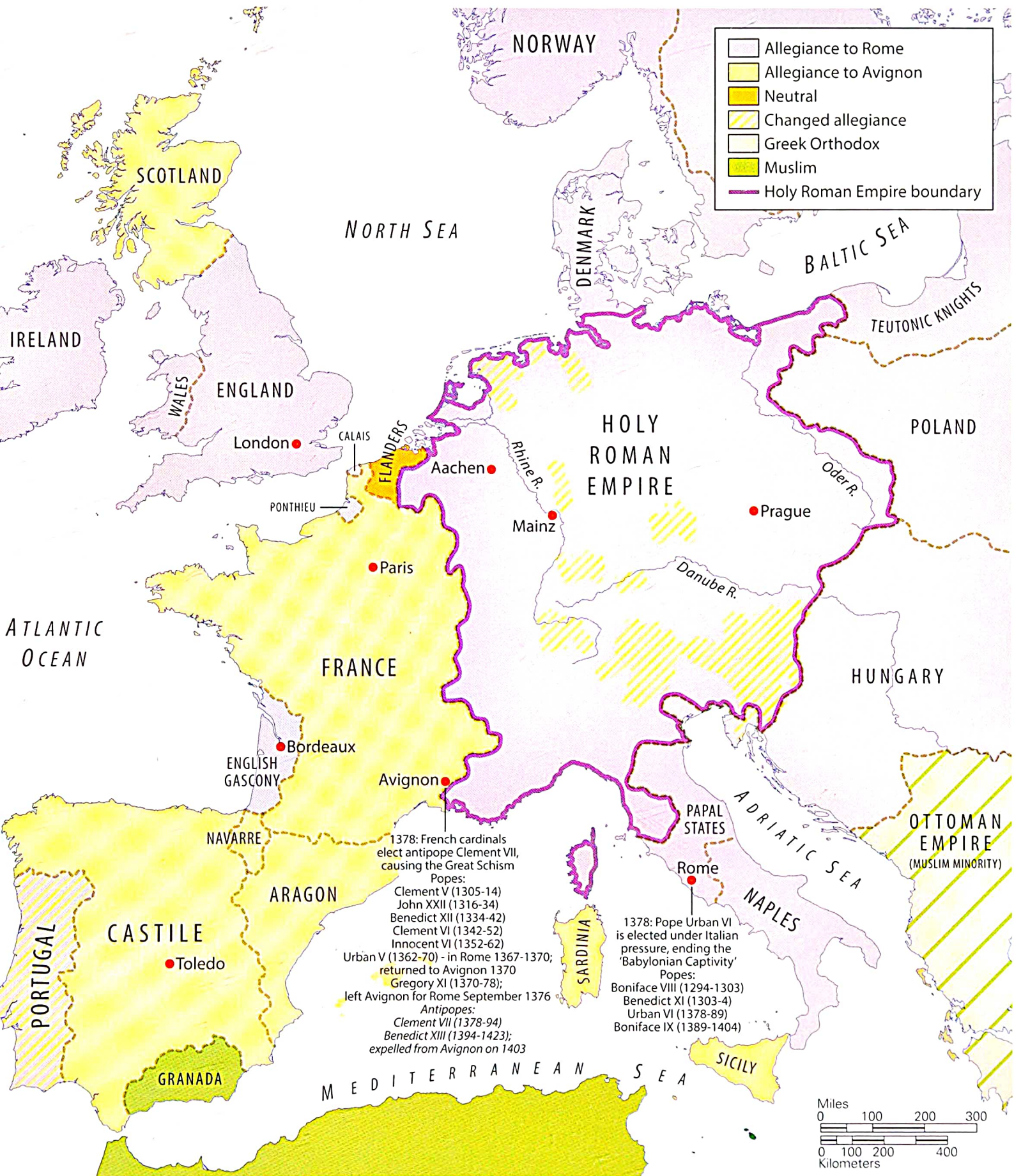
Under continued French pressure, the Archbishop of Bordeaux was elected Pope Clement V (1305–14). Clement, from Gascony, south-west France, never went to Rome, and chose Avignon, southern France, as his residence, thus becoming the first pope to live under the 'Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy' (1309–78). For most of the fourteenth century, no pope lived in Rome: a divorce between the head of Western Christendom and the Holy City that caused great scandal and unrest.

Clement's successor John XXII (1316–34) saw the papacy more in administrative than spiritual terms, while Benedict XII (1334–42) and Clement VI (1342–52) supported France against the English during the Hundred Years' War, the latter spending lavishly on pomp and ceremony and openly promoting members of his own family. By the time of Innocent VI (1352–62), pressure was growing on the popes to return to Rome. Innocent's successor, Urban V (1362–70) did return to Rome in 1367, but then appointed several French cardinals and in 1370 returned to Avignon. Gregory XI (1370–78) left Avignon finally in 1376, entering Rome in 1377. The papacy had at last returned to the Eternal City.

Great Schism

Following the death of Gregory XI, angry crowds demanded an Italian pope. The cardinals elected Urban VI (1378–89), who proved too much a dictator. Citing disorderly behaviour at his election as an excuse, some cardinals elected another pope, Clement VII (1378–94). After armed battles between forces of the rival popes, Clement VII retired to Avignon in 1381, beginning the 'Great Schism', a split of the government of the church that had both political and religious repercussions. Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, Hungary, and England supported Urban VI of Rome; France, Spain, and Scotland supported Clement VII in Avignon. The problem continued after Clement's death, with parallel elections in Rome and Avignon continuing into the next century.

At length, rival colleges of cardinals in Rome and Avignon began to discuss ways of ending the Schism. Since neither pope would give way, some cardinals called a council at Pisa in 1409. Both popes refused to attend, so the cardinals deposed them and elected instead Alexander V (1409–10). Neither the Avignon nor the Roman pope recognized him, resulting in three popes where there had been two. Not until the Council of Constance (1414–17) was the split finally healed, when Martin V was acknowledged by nearly all as the sole and rightful pope.



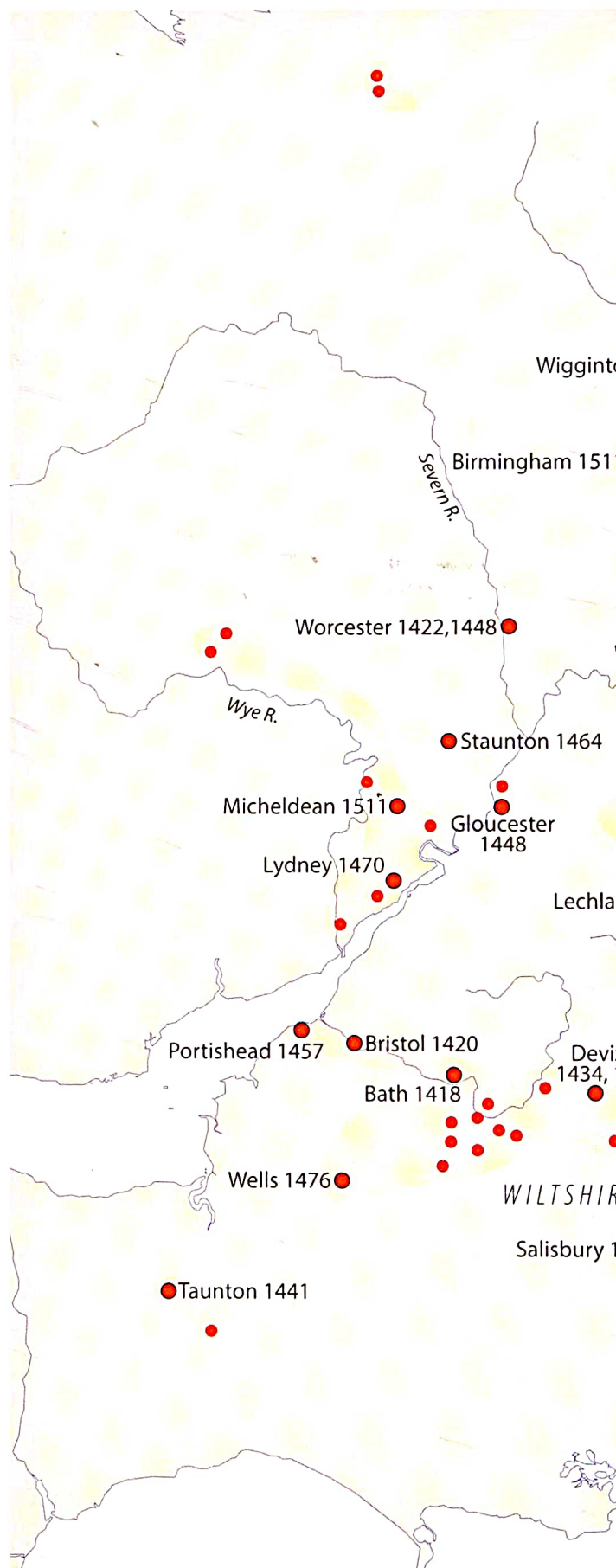
Wyclif and the Lollards

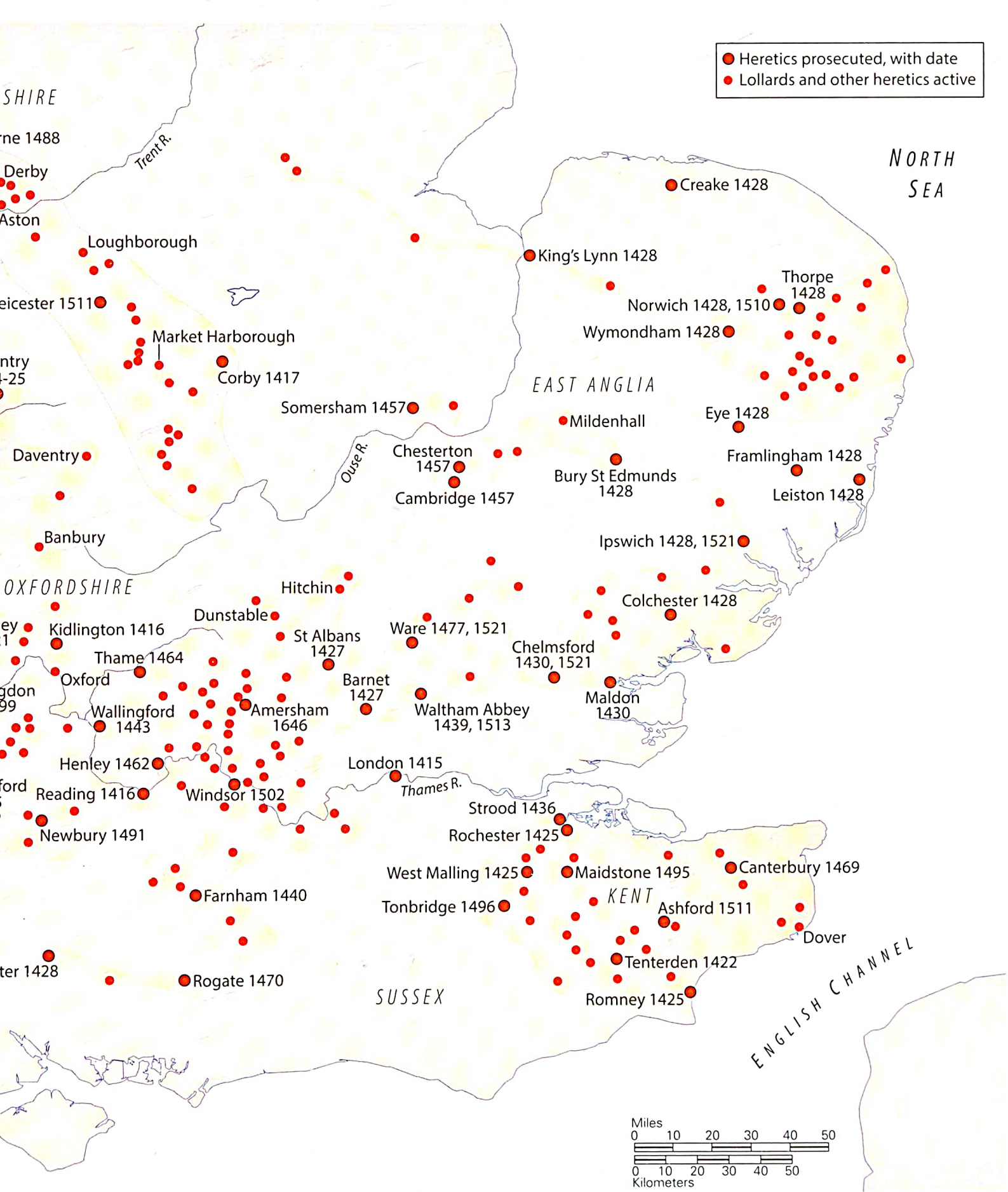
John Wyclif (c. 1320–84), a leading philosopher at Oxford University, offended the church by supporting the government's right to seize the property of corrupt clergymen. His views were condemned by the pope in 1377, but influential friends protected him. Wyclif began to extend his anti-clerical views and to attack central doctrines of the medieval church, in particular transubstantiation. He wrote: 'no man is so rude a scholar but that he may learn the words of the Gospel ...'

A group of followers arose around Wyclif at Oxford, attracted by his energetic preaching. He was gradually deserted by his friends in high places, and the church authorities were able to force Wyclif and his followers out of Oxford. In 1382, a sick man, he went to live at Lutterworth, in the English Midlands, initiating a vernacular Bible translation by Nicholas Hereford (d. 1420): the *Wyclif Bible*. His followers spread to Leicestershire and became known as 'Lollards' – possibly meaning 'mumbler'. By 1395 the Lollards had developed into an organized group, with their own ministers and popular support.

The Lollards stood for many of the ideas set out by Wyclif, believing the main task of a priest was to preach, and that the Bible should be available to all in their own language. However it is unclear how far Wyclif's views constituted a 'premature Reformation'. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Lollards were suppressed, particularly when their protest became linked to political unrest.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOLLARDS





The marriage of Richard II of England to Anne of Bohemia in 1382 resulted in links between both countries and in some of Wyclif's writings reaching Bohemia. Wyclif's attacks on the church resonated with the discontents of Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415), who taught at the Charles University in Prague, and with other Czech churchmen. Hus took up the theme of church reform in sermons at the Bethlehem Chapel, Prague, that soon became hugely popular in the city and with the Czech nobility. His views merged with an assertion of Czech identity against German-speakers in the Bohemian church and nation and found support throughout society.

Under a safe-conduct from the Holy Roman Emperor, Hus was summoned to the church's General Council at Constance in 1414 to explain his acts of rebellion, but the council tried him for heresy regardless. Hus was burned at the stake in 1415, condemned by the council and the Emperor. Bohemia exploded in anger; within five years Czech rebels had established a Hussite Church in Bohemia, independent of Rome, and soon more radical elements began to challenge the secular hierarchy as well as the church. Decades of vicious civil war followed, alongside unsuccessful attempts by surrounding states to destroy the revolution.

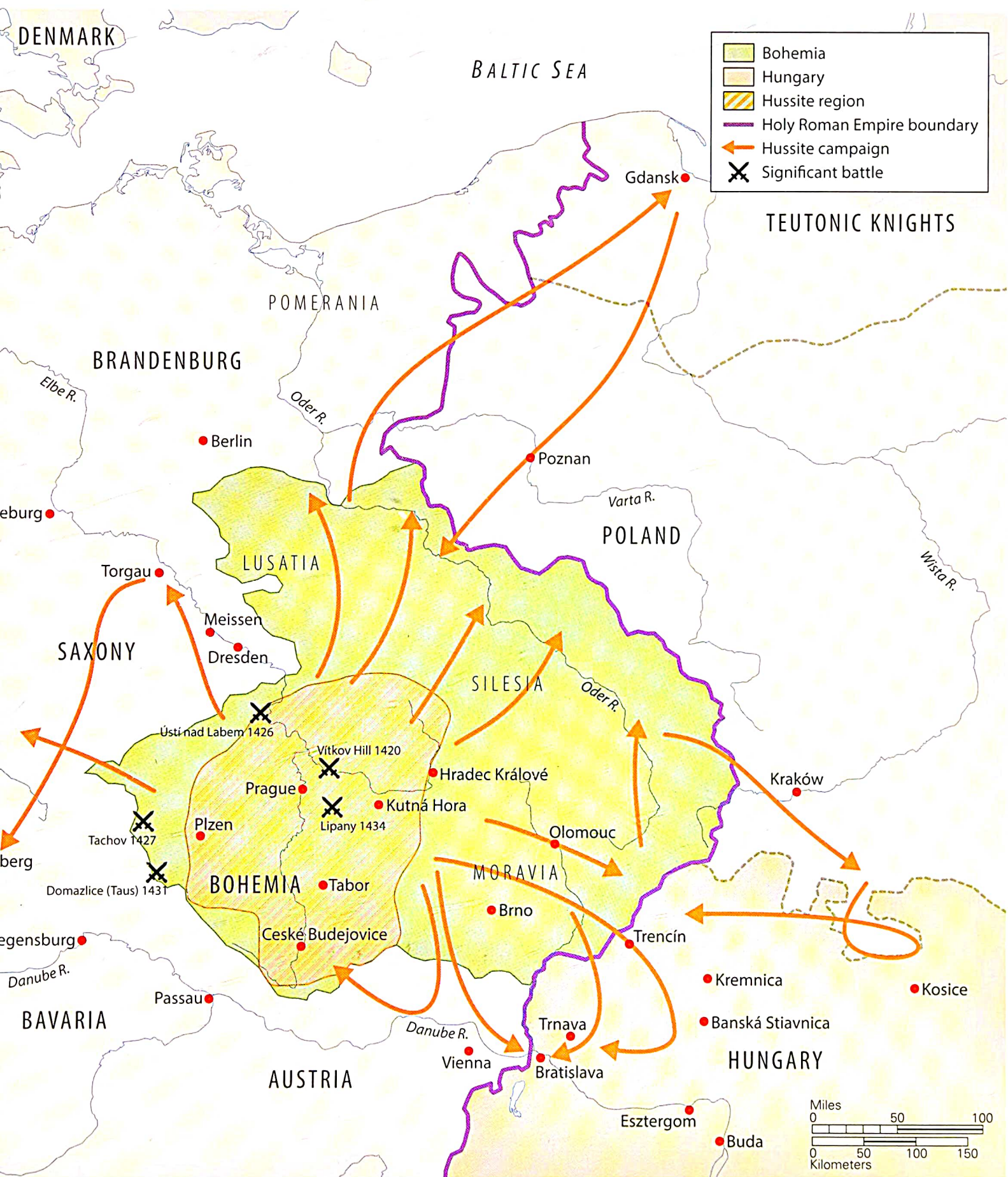
The pope invoked five failed crusades against the Hussites, and rebellion spread to Austria, Slovakia, Silesia, Bavaria, and even the Baltic.

An independent Hussite church emerged, partially recognized by Rome. Unlike the Roman church, it used the Czech language in worship, and insisted that the people receive both bread *and* wine at the Eucharist. From this reception 'in both kinds' or 'species' (*sub utraque specie*), the Hussite movement derived its name 'Utraquism'. In the absence of a native episcopate, the church was effectively in the hands of the aristocracy and of the leaders in major cities – a characteristic of the 'official' Reformations of the next century.

More radical Hussites, the Union of Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), separated from the Utraquists in 1457. Inspired by the south Bohemian writer Petr Chelcicky (c. 1390–c.1460), and invoking New Testament Christianity, they condemned all types of violence, including political repression, capital punishment, military service, and the swearing of oaths to earthly authorities, and rejected the idea of a separate priesthood and transubstantiation – all doctrines that re-emerged during the Reformation.



Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415),
Czech reformer and martyr.



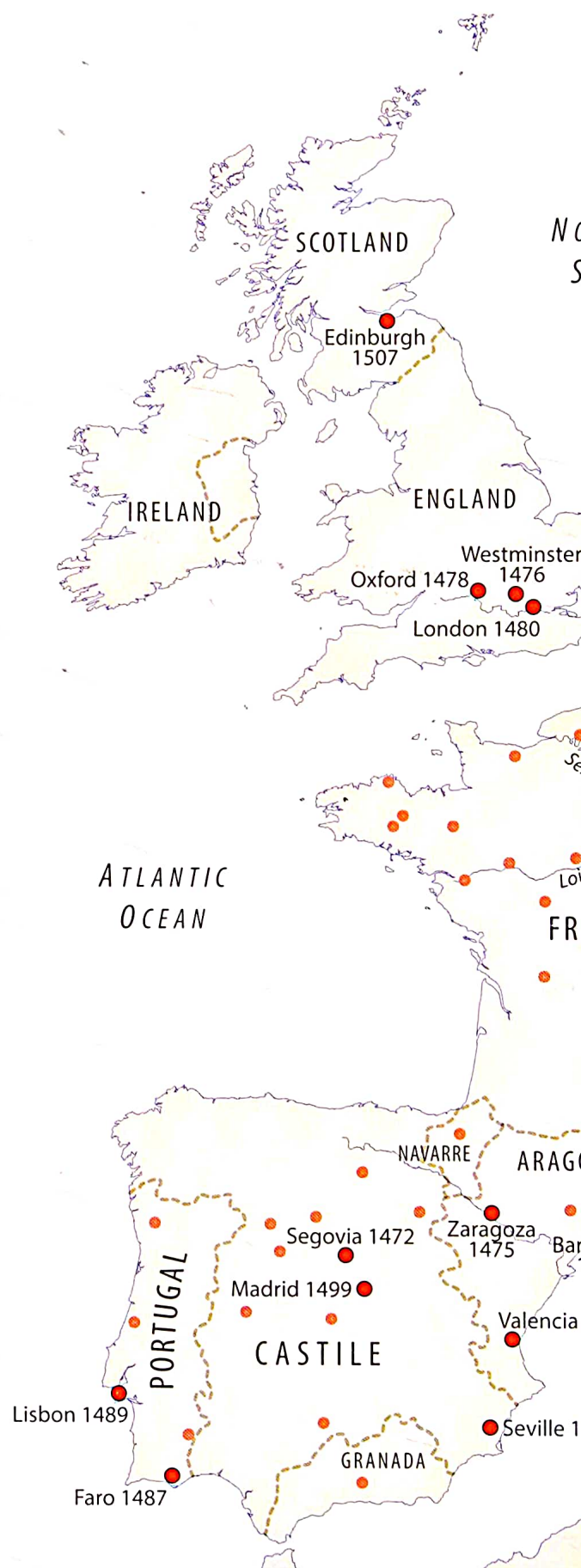
The invention of printing – sometimes called Germany’s chief contribution to the Renaissance – released a new energy into the story of books, scholarship, and education. In about 1445 Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1398–1468) started to experiment with movable metal type at Mainz, Germany. The first complete book known to have been printed in this way in the Christian world was the Bible (1456).

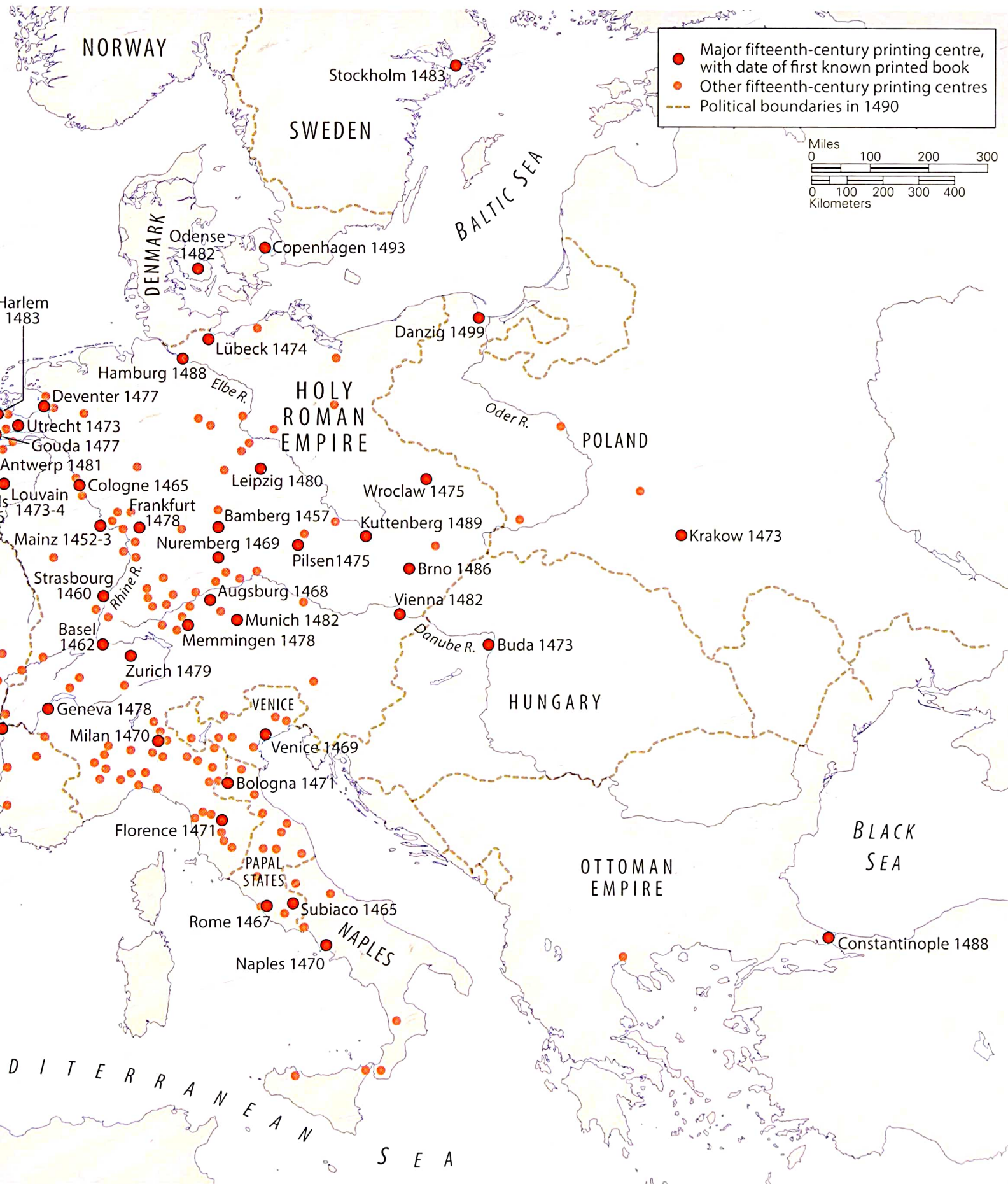
Until 1462 the new art remained a trade secret in Mainz, but that year the city was plundered and the printers dispersed. Within two decades printing presses were set up in Rome (1467), Paris (1470), Cracow (1474), and Westminster (1476). By the time Luther was born, in 1483, printing was well established throughout Europe.

The printing press was very important in the early spread of the Reformation. The writings of the first German reformers – Luther and Melanchthon – reached a wide public in printed form within weeks, and were soon being read in Paris and Rome. But even before the Reformation, printing helped to create a wider and more critical reading-public. It also met the new demand for reading material, with works such as the religious satires of Erasmus proving a big commercial success.

The invention of printing allowed the Bible to be circulated more widely than ever before. With this possibility came the desire of the Reformers to make what they regarded as the Word of God available to all people in their own language. This came at a time when it was unusual to write in the vernacular, and works such as the *Luther Bible* contributed greatly to the growth of the European languages.

THE EARLIEST PRINTING CENTRES IN EUROPE





'Renaissance' (re-birth) describes the revival of the values of classical Greek and Roman civilization in the arts, politics, and thinking that originated in Italy and spread over most of Western Europe. The Renaissance began with the revival of classical learning by scholars known as 'humanists'. A humanist was originally someone who taught Latin grammar, but later came to mean a student of Latin and Greek who not only read classical writings but shaped his life by what he read. Most of the early humanists professed Christianity, although Renaissance humanists also studied such non-Christian authors as Cicero and Plato.

The home of humanism was Italy, and the first known humanist Lovato Lovati (1241–1309), who not only read the Latin classics but tried to imitate their spirit. He discovered manuscripts of forgotten classics in the library of the abbey of Pomposa, precipitating a search for hidden treasures of antiquity that became one of the features of humanism.

Humanism came of age with the Italian Francesco Petrarca (or Petrarch, 1304–74), whose writings had a huge impact on European literature. Petrarch reacted against the Aristotelian form in which Christianity was presented by the medieval scholastics, polarizing Christian opinion between the old scholasticism and the new humanism. Petrarch bequeathed his successors the ideal of a world of classical values recaptured and displayed within the context of a restored Christianity.

Italy of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was divided into many minor – frequently warring – states. This period saw a great increase of Italian trade and the simultaneous growth of major banks and finance houses. During the Renaissance the

various Italian states and cities competed for the services and prestige of major artists. The funds needed to sponsor these Renaissance artists and to beautify the increasingly ornate cities came partly from great mercantile families such as the Medicis of Florence (an early centre of Renaissance activity), the Sforzas of Milan, and the Estes of Ferrara.

Rome benefited hugely from the activities of Renaissance popes such as Julius II (r. 1503–13), Leo X (a Medici; r. 1513–21), and Clement VII (another Medici; r. 1523–34), all great patrons of art, architecture, and letters. Venice, with its vibrant commercial activities, was another major focus of Renaissance art and architecture.

The study of natural sciences also expanded during this period. Medicine flourished as the study of anatomy revealed some secrets of the body and the number of charitable hospitals multiplied. Astronomy also advanced, although astrology was still dominant. Italian mathematicians and scientists such as Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1397–1482), Luca Pacioli (1445–1517), and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) led in their respective disciplines.



Before long the Renaissance spread from its country of origin and humanists began to appear widely in France, Germany, Holland, and England (c. 1500–1600) as well as in Spain and Portugal. The Renaissance came later to Northern Europe as it was further from the Mediterranean centres of trade and culture. The French invasion of Italy in 1494, and the ability of the newly invented printing press to spread ideas quickly and accurately, facilitated contact with the ideas of the Italian Renaissance. Moreover with the rise of towns and of national monarchies in France, England, Spain, and Portugal there was less resistance to the new ideas of the Renaissance.

Among leading humanists in France were Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1536) and Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), whose precise, penetrating scholarship opened up the way for the Reformation in their country. In Germany Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) was the leading speculative thinker, while Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), author of *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506), established the study of Hebrew in the West.

From the Netherlands came Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), the greatest of the humanists, for whose services kings and princes across Europe competed. His *Praise of Folly* satirized the follies and vices of his times, particularly those of the church, while further popularizing humanism. Erasmus remained a pious Christian, but favoured the idea that it was an individual's inner spirit, rather than outward shows of piety or empty rituals, which mattered.

In England the new learning flowered in such Christian humanists as John Colet (1467–1519), Dean of St Paul's, whose Oxford lectures on Paul's letters broke new ground. Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), author of *Utopia*, defended the study of classical Greek and Roman culture, claiming their knowledge and the study of the natural world could serve as a stairway to the study of the supernatural.

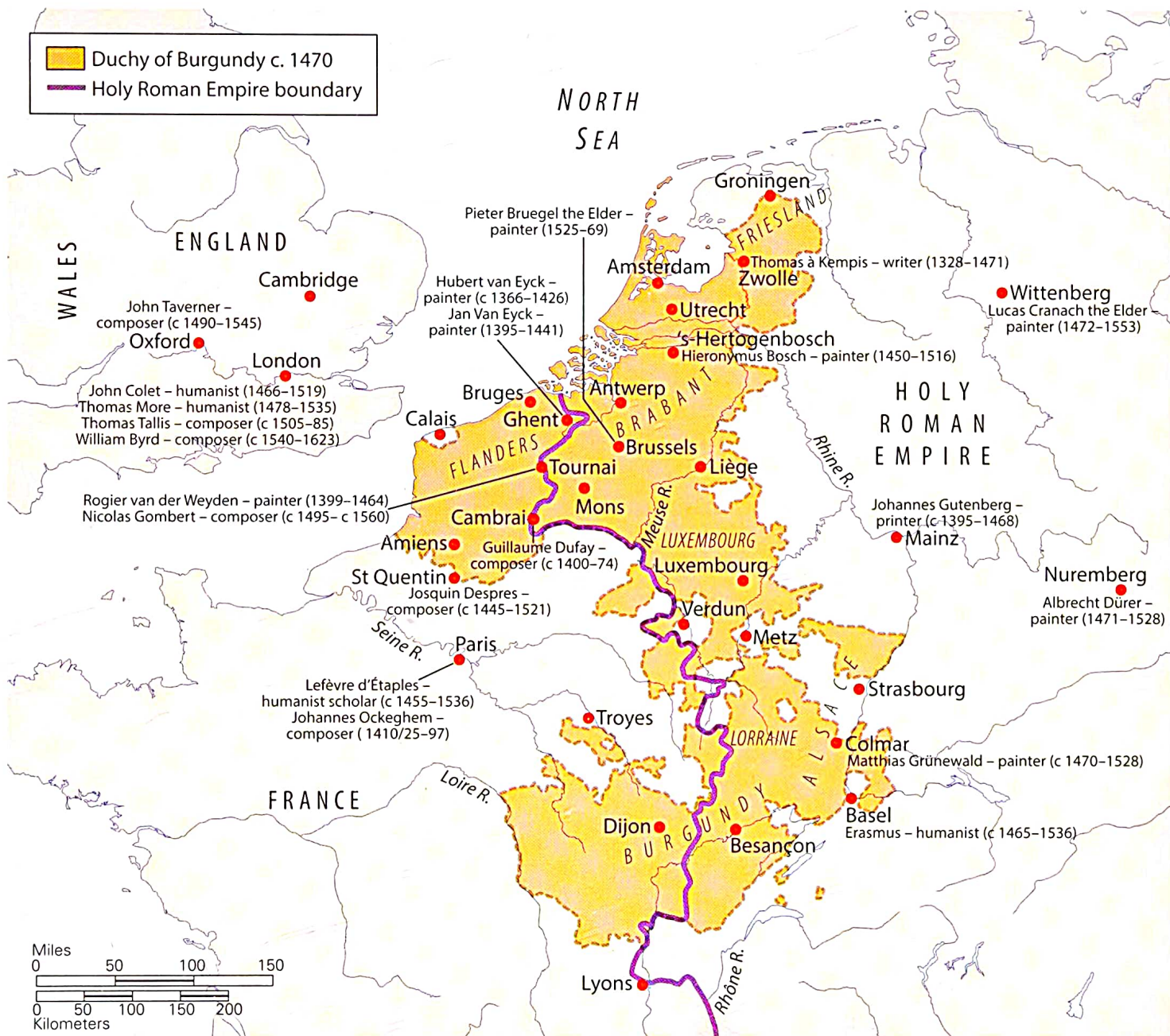
Fine art

The more religious nature of the Northern Renaissance is reflected in its art, where secular and mythological themes appear less frequently than in Italy. The German artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) was strongly influenced by the efforts of the Italians and the ancient writer Vitruvius to find mathematical proportions for portraying the perfect figure.

Music

While the Renaissance saw the rebirth of classical learning and visual arts, musicians had no means of referring back to Greek and Roman music. Instead, Renaissance composers had creatively to innovate. Until this period most church music was solely vocal; however, during the Renaissance other instruments began to be employed alongside the choir – strings, brass, and small ensembles. The introduction of printed music ensured greater textual accuracy and uniformity and the rapid and widespread circulation of compositions, resulting in an increase in the early influence of composers upon one another.

A number of outstanding composers appeared in Burgundy, including Guillaume Dufay (c. 1400–74), Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1410/30–97), and Josquin des Prés (c. 1445–1521) – often referred to simply as 'Josquin' – who was regarded as the greatest



composer of his age. English Renaissance composers include John Taverner (c. 1490–c. 1548), remembered for his *Western Wind Mass*, Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–85), who navigated the politically treacherous waters of Tudor England, and William Byrd (1542/3–1623), ‘father of British music’ according to his admiring peers.

New universities

The fifteenth century also saw the foundation of many new and significant universities in Europe, among them Alcalá, Bordeaux, Louvain, St Andrews, Tübingen, and Uppsala. The University of Wittenberg, where Luther taught, was opened in 1502.

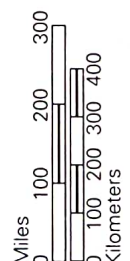
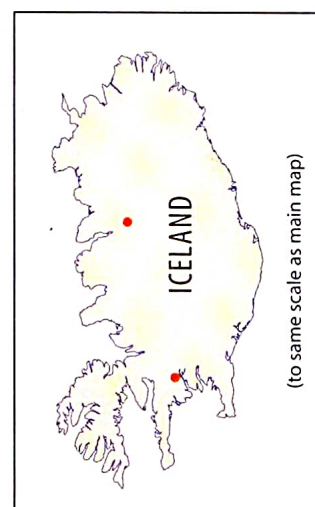
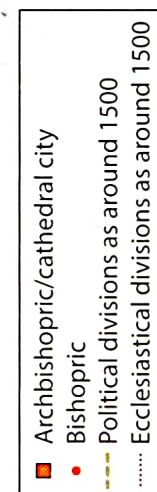
During the fifteenth century the papacy began to reap the results of centuries of compromise. The Great Schism saw two – even three – men claiming to be pope, and the Council of Constance staged a power struggle between bishops and pope, both events hindering papal government and harming the church's reputation in the eyes of the laity. The church continued to sell offices and indulgences, and remained the political plaything of princes and a useful source of income for second sons and the unscrupulous.

Criticism of clerical abuses had been widespread in Europe for centuries. But as society became more urbanized, better educated, and richer, the literate laity – often better educated than many of the priests who claimed to 'mediate the exclusive means of salvation' – increased criticism of the church and its clergy.

Yet in 1500 the Catholic Church stood outwardly undivided and virtually unchallenged. Its dioceses and archdioceses neatly divided up Western Europe; its bureaucracy was widely envied and its wealth was almost unmatched.

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE C. 1500

map 10



NORTH SEA

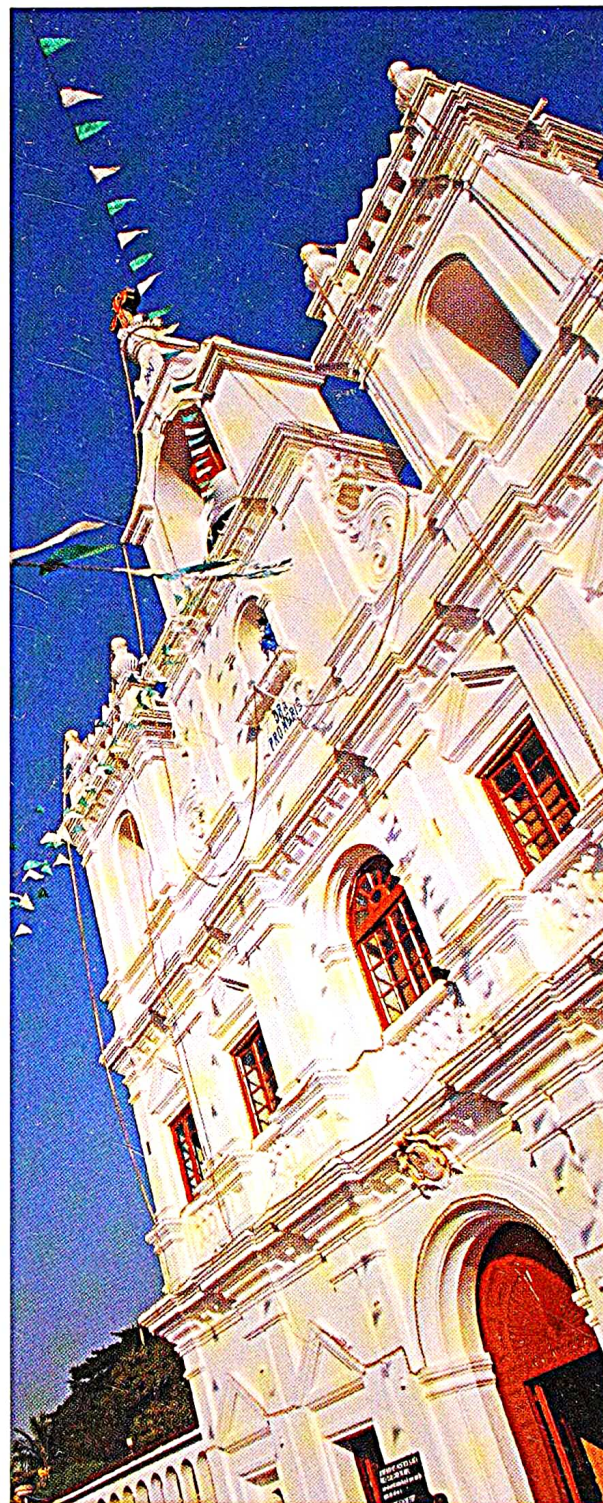
SWEDEN

Nidaros
(Trondheim)

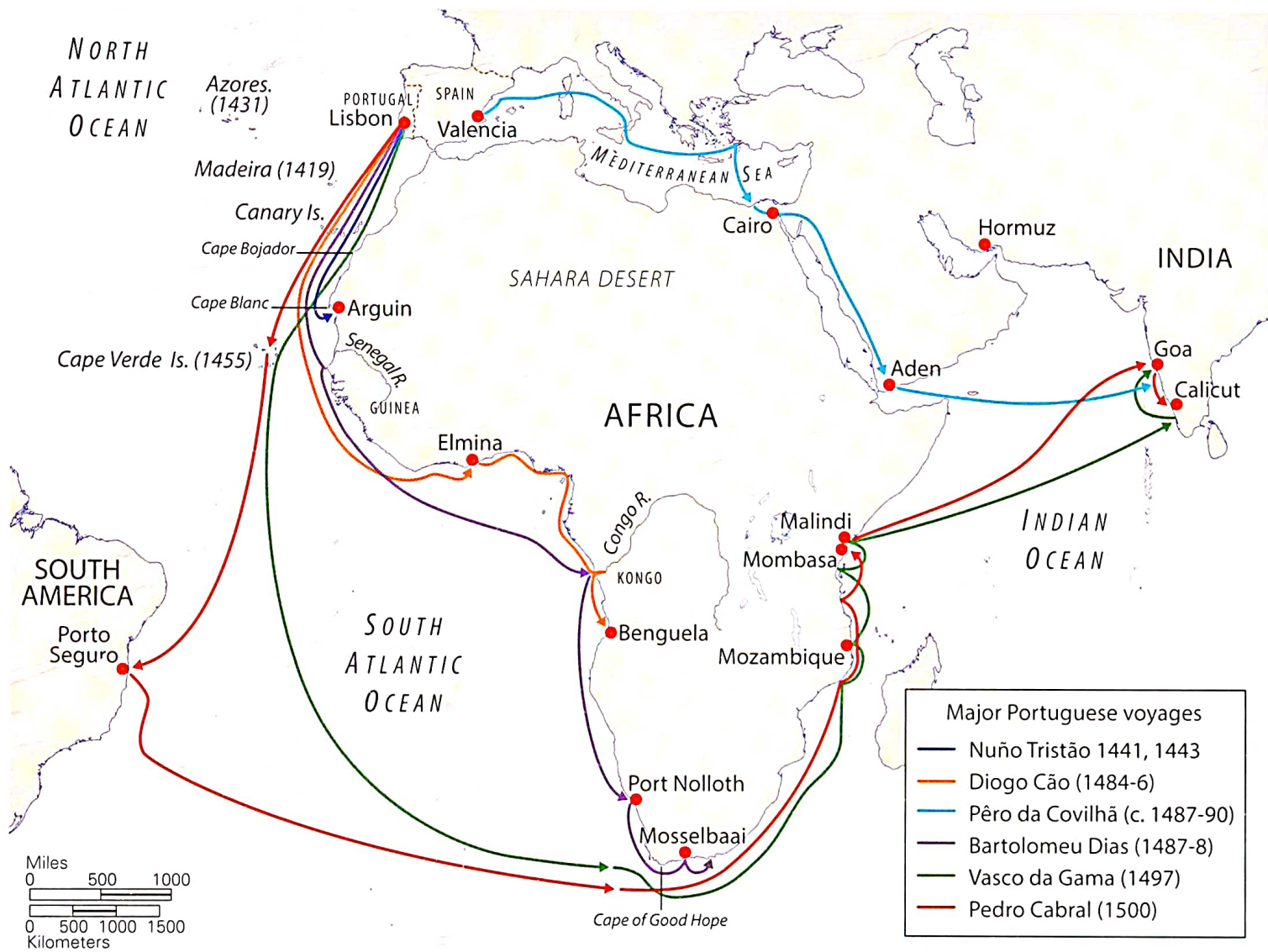
China and India were vital to European trade in the Middle Ages. However the rise of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) brought to an end Mongol control of China and southern Asia, closing off access to much of Asia for European merchants. At around the same time, the growth of Muslim power in the Middle East following the collapse of the Crusader kingdoms made land travel to India increasingly uncertain and hazardous. These changes helped stimulate sustained attempts by Europeans to reach India by sea.

In the fifteenth century, Portuguese and Spanish explorers made a series of exploratory voyages, later emulated by sailors from the maritime states of Genoa and Venice. In 1415, the Portuguese captured Ceuta, Morocco, and subsequently embarked on the progressive discovery of the West African coast. Iberian ships driven off these coasts discovered Atlantic islands such as Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands, which were then explored and colonized.

As Governor of the Order of Christ, the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) funnelled much of this organization's wealth into scientific, commercial, and religious expeditions, with the ultimate aim of circumnavigating Africa. In 1434 a ship dispatched by Prince Henry passed the much-feared Cape Bojador, at that time regarded as the boundary of the knowable world. Having rounded this cape after a decade of trying, Henry's caravels reached the Senegal River in 1436 and Cape Blanc, at the southern limits of the Sahara Desert, in 1441. In 1444 one of his captains landed the first boatload of African slaves in Portugal, an ominous precedent. Progressing gradually further south, Portuguese sailors rounded Cape Verde in 1445, reaching Sierra Leone in 1457, the Gold Coast in 1471, and the Congo River in 1482. In 1490 Portuguese explorers worked their way up the river and converted to Christianity the king of the Kongo Empire.



The Church of our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Goa, founded in 1540.



Dias and da Gama

Meanwhile Portuguese sailors continued to press southward. The daring voyage of Bartolomeu Dias (c. 1451–1500), who in 1488 rounded the Cape of Good Hope on the southern tip of Africa, disproved the long-held belief that India was inaccessible from the Atlantic Ocean. Finally in 1497 Vasco da Gama (c. 1460s–1524), having rounded the Cape, continued along the coast of East Africa and with the help of a pilot sailed across the Indian Ocean, reaching Calicut in 1498.

The Portuguese capital, Lisbon, now became a major trading centre with the East. Another outstanding seaman, Afonso de Albuquerque (c. 1453–1515), laid the basis of empire, taking Goa in India in 1510, Malacca in 1511, and Hormuz on the Horn of Arabia in 1515. These conquests evolved into a network of strategic Portuguese trading ports rather than colonies, since the Portuguese had neither the men nor the resources required to establish a colonial empire.

Jealous of Portugal's discoveries, in 1492 Queen Isabella of Spain sponsored Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, to reach the East by sailing west. Having encountered indigenous brown-skinned people in what are now the Bahamas, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, he returned to report discovery of the 'Indies'. This opened up the 'new world' to Spanish conquest.

With Spain and Portugal both committed to exploration of the Americas, lines of demarcation were needed. The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) was agreed with the complaisant Spanish Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), intended to divide off a Portuguese zone of influence in Africa and the East from the Spanish westerly explorations. The Portuguese managed to push the agreed line slightly west – on the grounds that their ships were often forced to sail far out into the Atlantic to catch favourable winds – which subsequently gave them rights to the as yet undiscovered territories of Brazil.

The initial Spanish campaigns of conquest in the New World were swift and bloody, and the lengthy process of exploitation was equally destructive. War, ill treatment, and hard, unfamiliar work all took a toll on the indigenous people; but most deadly were European diseases, against which they had no immunity. The indigenous population of central Mexico, estimated at 25 million in 1521, fell to 16 million by 1532 and a mere 2.6 million in 1568. To work the mines and fields – especially in the Caribbean – the Iberian invaders introduced black slaves, who were also decimated by disease, starvation, and cruelty.

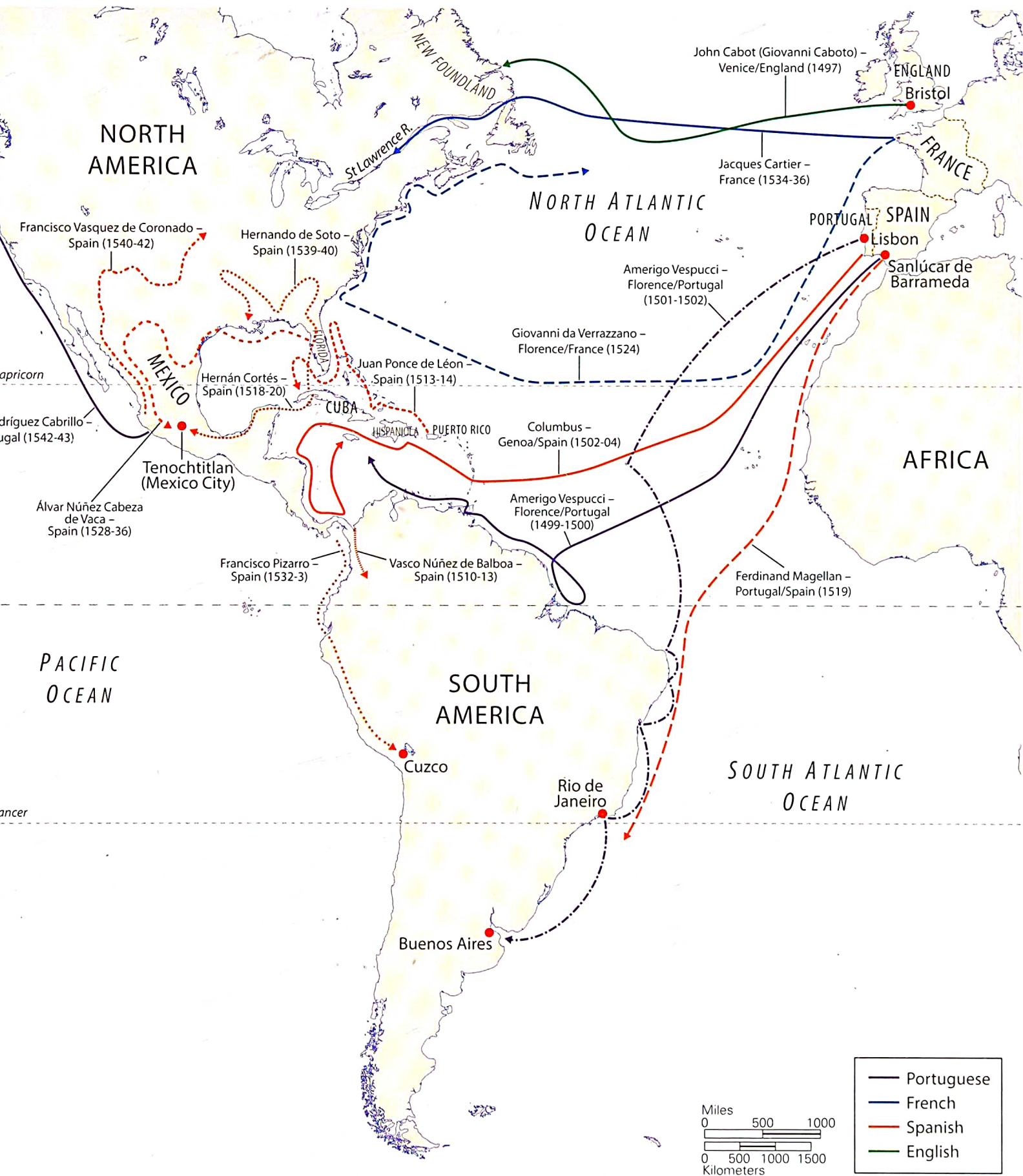
From an early stage, missionaries accompanied the *conquistadores*, and a few priests, such as Bartolomé de Las Casas

(1474–1560), attempted to protect the slaves and native Indians from cruelty and early death. But such efforts were largely thwarted.

Between 1529 and 1556 Charles V granted the Augsburg banking firm of Welser the rights to exploit the Chibcha Indian Empire – Venezuela and New Granada – while Francisco Pizarro (c. 1471–1541) conquered the Inca Empire and founded Lima, Peru. Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) conquered the Aztec Empire, founding Mexico City, after destroying the native capital, Tenochtitlan.

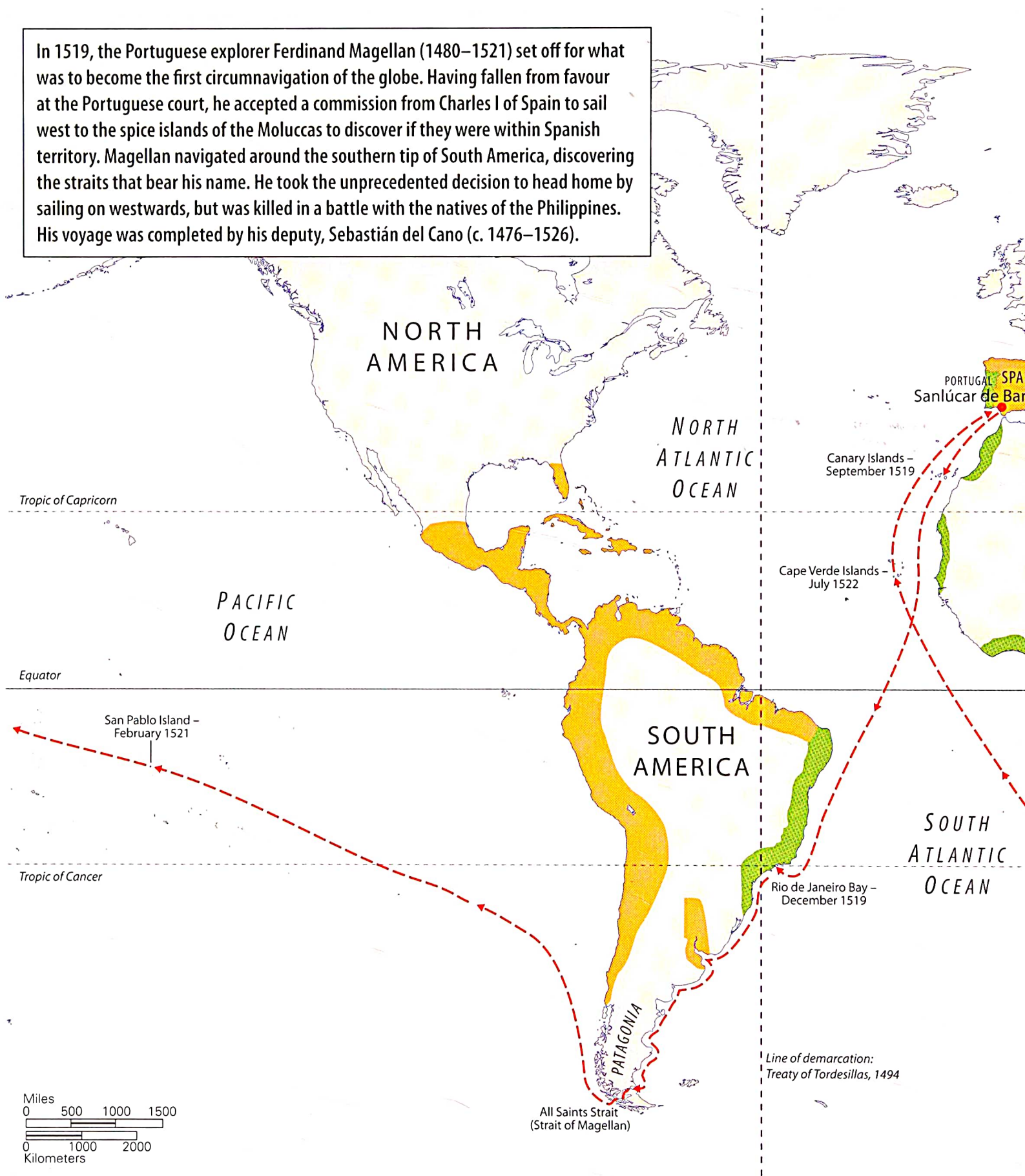
Other explorations

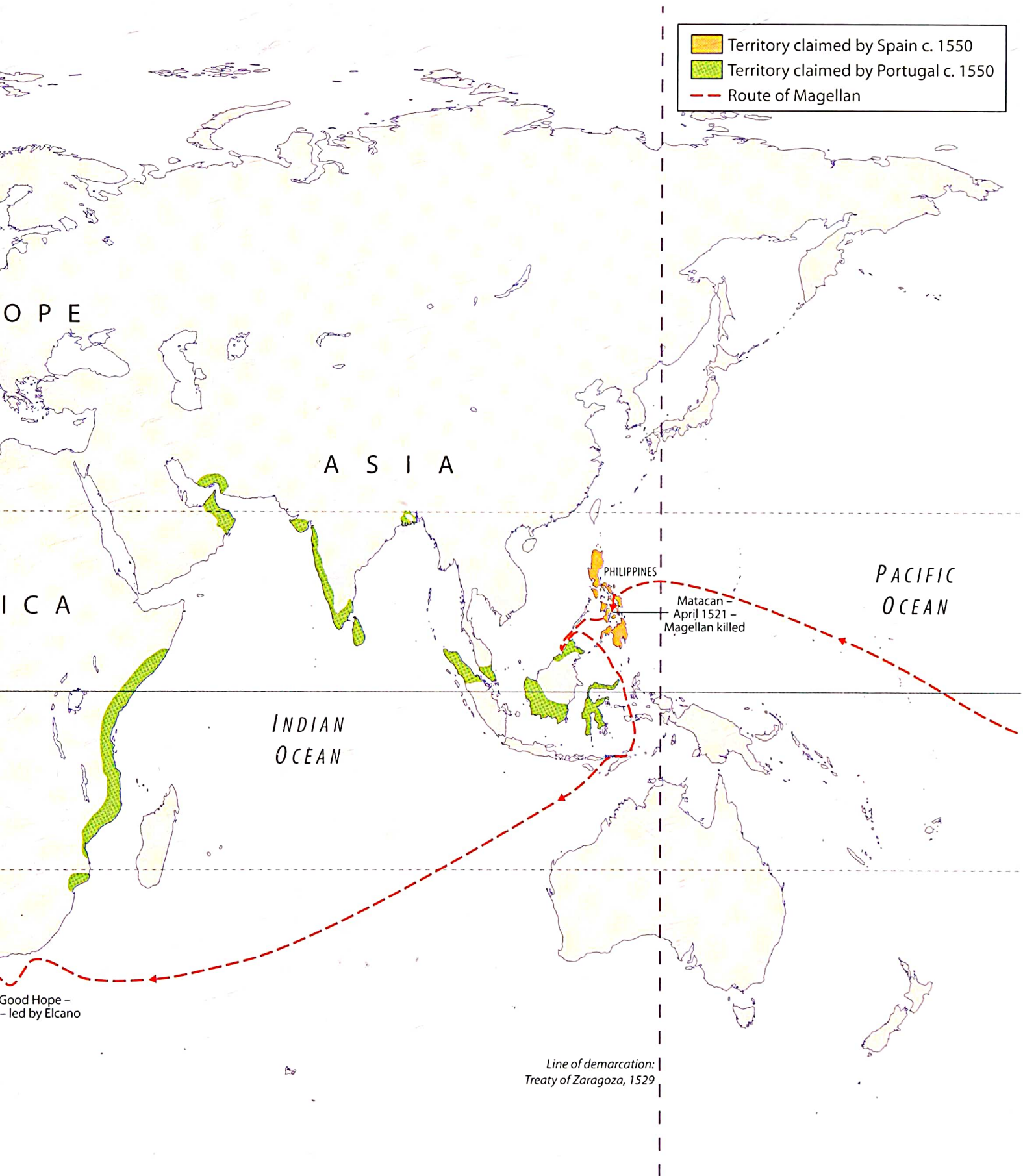
The French, British, Dutch, and Danish later made some incursions into the Caribbean and Central America, setting up their own colonies, while the Spanish pushed north into the areas now known as Florida, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California. But France and the north European countries were slower to initiate voyages of discovery. In 1497 John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto, c. 1450 – c. 1499), a wealthy Italian merchant living in England, discovered Newfoundland while searching for Brazil. The following year he sailed along the coasts of Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and New England before returning home. The first French explorations were made by Jacques Cartier up the St Lawrence River between 1534 and 1541.



THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE WORLD

In 1519, the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) set off for what was to become the first circumnavigation of the globe. Having fallen from favour at the Portuguese court, he accepted a commission from Charles I of Spain to sail west to the spice islands of the Moluccas to discover if they were within Spanish territory. Magellan navigated around the southern tip of South America, discovering the straits that bear his name. He took the unprecedented decision to head home by sailing on westwards, but was killed in a battle with the natives of the Philippines. His voyage was completed by his deputy, Sebastián del Cano (c. 1476–1526).





Part 3
G.M. Elliott Library
Original Online Library

Reformation

I am bound by the
Scriptures I have quoted
and my conscience is
captive to the Word of
God. I cannot and I will
not recant anything, since
it is neither safe nor right
to go against conscience.
May God help me.



Early sixteenth-century Western Europe was dominated by a trio of powerful and ambitious monarchs. Henry VIII (r. 1509–47), the first English king to be addressed as ‘majesty’, was courted by both the French king and the Holy Roman Emperor, and famously broke with the pope. Francis I (r. 1515–47) reinforced the absolutist claims of his immediate predecessors as King of France and unsuccessfully challenged Charles V for the title of Holy Roman Emperor. Meanwhile the Ottoman Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) were looking enviously at the Christian north. The Sultan’s armies took Belgrade in 1521 and defeated the Hungarian army at Mohács in 1526. However, Suleiman’s siege of Vienna in 1529 was eventually raised, while his foray into Austria in 1532 was successfully resisted at Güns.

The third in this trio, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56), attempted to maintain order, repel the Turks, heal the schism in the church caused by the Reformers, and defend and increase his hereditary holdings. As a descendant of Ferdinand of Aragon (r. 1479–1516) and Isabella of Castile (r. 1474–1504), he inherited the Spanish crown in 1516, taking the title Charles I. With the fall of Granada in 1492, the last of the Muslim Moors had been driven from the Iberian peninsula. Through Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles also received Sardinia, Sicily, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Balearic Islands. In addition, the newly colonized Spanish territories in North, Central, and South America poured wealth from the New World into his treasury.

Charles also inherited from his paternal grandmother, Mary of Burgundy (r. 1477–82), much of the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, and Luxembourg; and from his paternal grandfather, Maximilian I (r. 1508–16), the Habsburg lands of Germany. Shortly afterwards the Habsburgs also claimed the eastern flank of the Empire: Hungary,

Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. In 1519 Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor becoming, at least in name, sovereign of the central lands of Europe too.

However Charles’ extensive holdings and ambitions did not allow him an easy rule. Charles and Francis I both laid claim to the Kingdom of Naples, Milan, Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois. There was also rivalry between the Pope and Charles, and it was papal policy that no power should control both Naples and Milan. The pope often backed Francis rather than Charles: Pope Leo X supported Francis over Charles in the imperial elections, and Pope Clement VII allied himself with the French king at a time when concerted action with Charles might otherwise have crushed the Reformation.

During the 1550s Charles gradually abdicated from parts of his empire. He gave Sicily, Naples, and Milan to his son Philip in 1554; he abdicated from the Netherlands in 1555; and from his Spanish Empire in 1556. Finally his brother Ferdinand succeeded as Holy Roman Emperor in 1558, shortly before Charles’ death.



Martin Luther (1483–1546) was born in Eisleben, a small mining town in north-east Germany, grew up in Mansfeld, and was educated in Eisenach, Magdeburg, and the University of Erfurt, where he studied law. In 1505 he joined a closed Augustinian friary in Erfurt, after having made a dramatic vow during a thunderstorm. Ordained in 1507, he studied theology and rose through the academic ranks at the university. Transferring to the new University of Wittenberg in 1511, he was linked with that institution for the rest of his life. In 1510–11 Luther visited Rome for his order, and was profoundly shocked by the corruption and extravagance he encountered in the papal city. In 1512 he became a doctor of theology and professor of biblical studies at Wittenberg.

After a long spiritual crisis, Luther rejected theology based on the inherited tradition, emphasizing instead the individual understanding and experience of Scripture, crucially believing justification not to be by works, but by faith alone. Luther's views became more widely known when he sent a letter to the bishops, including Albrecht, Bishop of Mainz, on 31 October 1517 and later (probably mid-November) posted his 95 Theses – intended for academic debate about the sale of indulgences and the church's material preoccupations – on the door of Wittenberg's Castle Church. Their effect was to undermine the basis of contemporary practice.

In December the Archbishop of Mainz complained to Rome about Luther. The latter refused to recant, travelled to Heidelberg in 1518 having prepared a set of theses for disputation before his Augustinian order, and was then examined by Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (1469–1534) in Augsburg. When he heard he might be arrested, Luther fled. In July 1519, during a disputation at Leipzig with his sharpest opponent Johann Eck (1486–1543), Luther denied the supremacy of the pope and the infallibility of church councils. Two years later he was excommunicated.

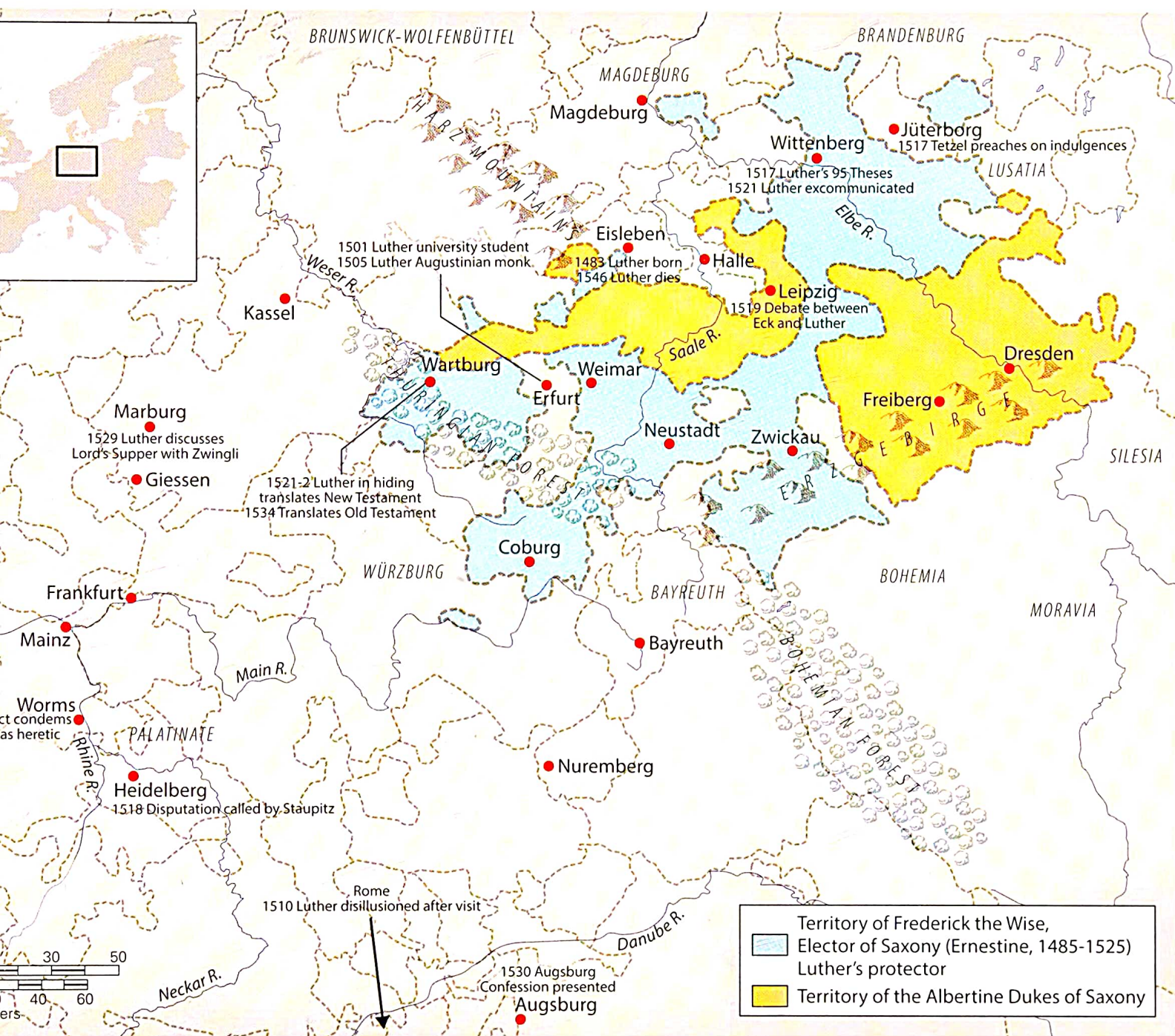
At the famous Diet of Worms in April 1521, standing before the

Holy Roman Emperor in person, and fearing for his life, Luther again refused to recant. He was declared an outlaw, but kidnapped for his own protection by the sympathetic Elector Frederick of Saxony and taken to the Wartburg Castle. There he devoted his energies to translating the New Testament into German.

Since 1483 Saxony had been divided into two parts: Ernestine and Albertine, or Electoral and Ducal respectively. During his career as reformer, Luther was fortunate to live in Electoral Saxony, where the ruler, Elector Frederick the Wise (r. 1483–1525), despite remaining a Catholic, protected

Martin Luther (1483–1546).





him when both Empire and Church turned against him. Ducal Saxony, on the other hand, was ruled by Duke George, a fierce opponent of Luther. The Leipzig debate took place in his territory.

In 1529 Luther travelled to Marburg for a colloquy with Zwingli and other reformers from Switzerland and south Germany; but the majority of his days were spent within

the narrower limits of Saxony. The 'Luther Lands' are bounded by the Erzgebirge (Bohemian Massif) on the south-east, Electoral Saxony to the north-east, the Harz Mountains in the north-west, and the Thuringian Forest around the Wartburg in the south-west. No city in this region is more than 75 miles from Wittenberg.

Given the revolutionary nature of Lutheranism and the economic and political tensions of the time, it is not surprising that the Reformation soon became marked by violence and extremism. The German Knights' War of 1522–23, in which members of the lower nobility – some of them strong supporters of Luther – rebelled against the authorities in south-west Germany, was quickly crushed.

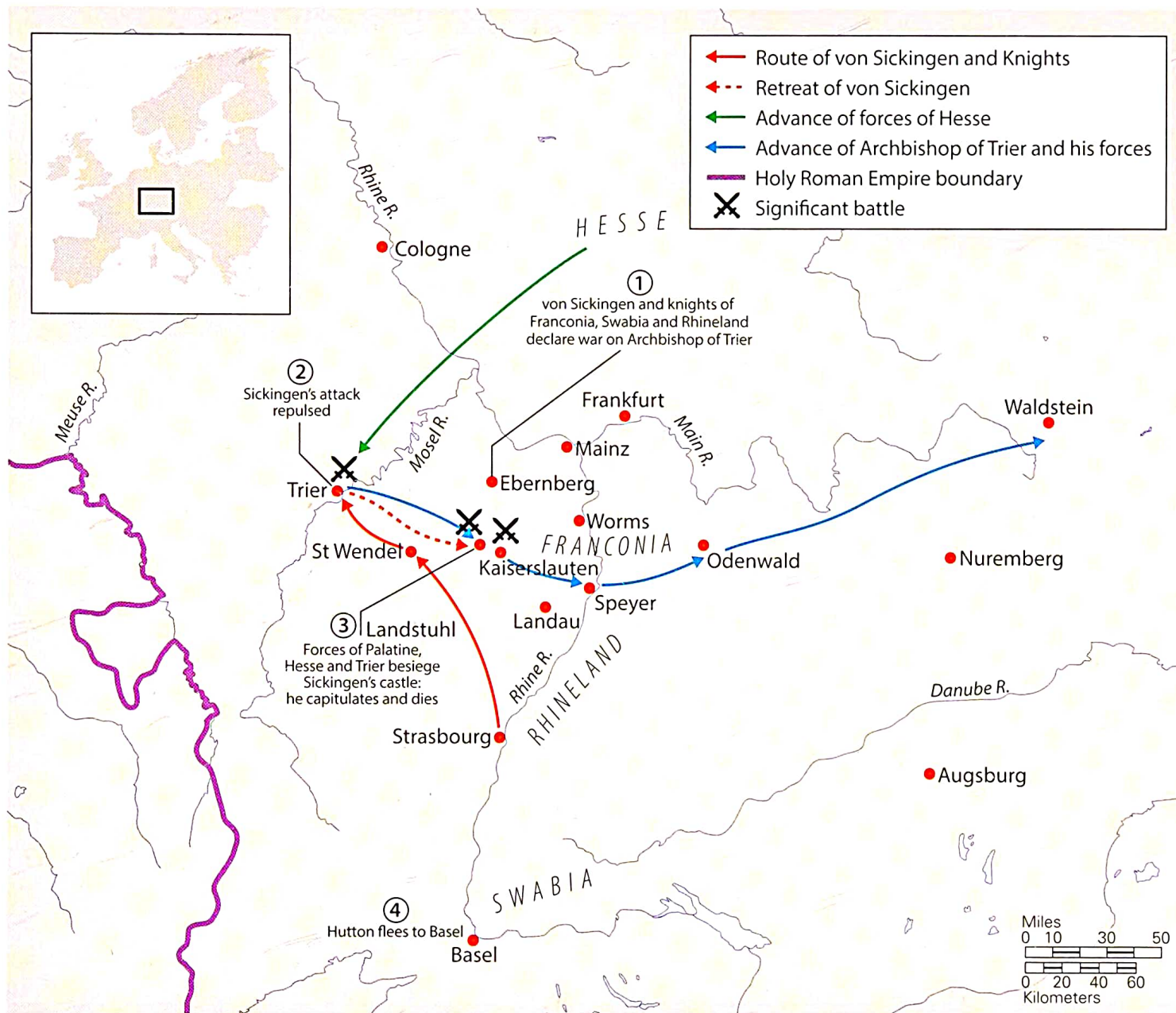
As medieval society began to crumble, the lesser nobility of the German states found themselves squeezed between powerful forces they could neither control nor moderate. Many depended upon dwindling payments in kind from their lands, a shortage of income made more acute by the spiralling inflation that followed the discovery and plundering of the New World. The increased authority of kings, together with the power and wealth of some princes of the church, further jeopardized the status, and excited the envy, of the knightly class. Their self-image had been flattered by the medieval code of chivalry and their role in the Crusades; now both their economic base and political power were declining rapidly.

Revolt

The knights rose in revolt under Franz von Sickingen (1481–1523) and Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). Both became adherents of the Lutheran cause, seeing in it an opportunity to recover the declining influence of the Christian nobility in the German nation. Sickingen, who had previously fought for the emperors Maximilian and Charles V, was sometimes called 'the last knight'. With Hutten, he proposed the unification of German-speaking lands and secularization of ecclesiastical principalities. Influenced by

The Sickingen Heights, in the Palatinate, Germany, near von Sickingen's town, Landstuhl.





Hutten, Sickingen made his Rhineland estate, the Ebernburg, into a refuge for Lutheran sympathizers and a centre for Lutheran propaganda. He gave shelter to the reformers Martin Bucer and Johannes Oecolampadius, and even offered refuge to Luther following the Diet of Worms.

While Charles V was away in Spain, Sickingen summoned a gathering of knights and declared war on the Archbishop of Trier,

a prominent opponent of Luther. His assault failed and he retreated to his supposedly unassailable stronghold at Landstuhl, where he was defeated and killed by an alliance of three German princes. Following Sickingen's defeat, Hutten fled to Basel, Switzerland.

The common refusal to pay church tithes during the revolt spread to the peasants and inspired them to refuse to pay the tithe – one of the factors that led to the Peasants' Revolt.

While Martin Luther was in protective custody at the Wartburg Castle, back in Wittenberg his colleague Andreas Karlstadt started to attack clerical celibacy and the ritual of the Mass. Also outsiders (the 'Zwickau prophets') arrived, claiming direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit and that the eucharistic bread and wine were symbols and in no sense the body and blood of Christ. Baptizing babies was also called into question. Luther soon intervened to bring matters back under his control.

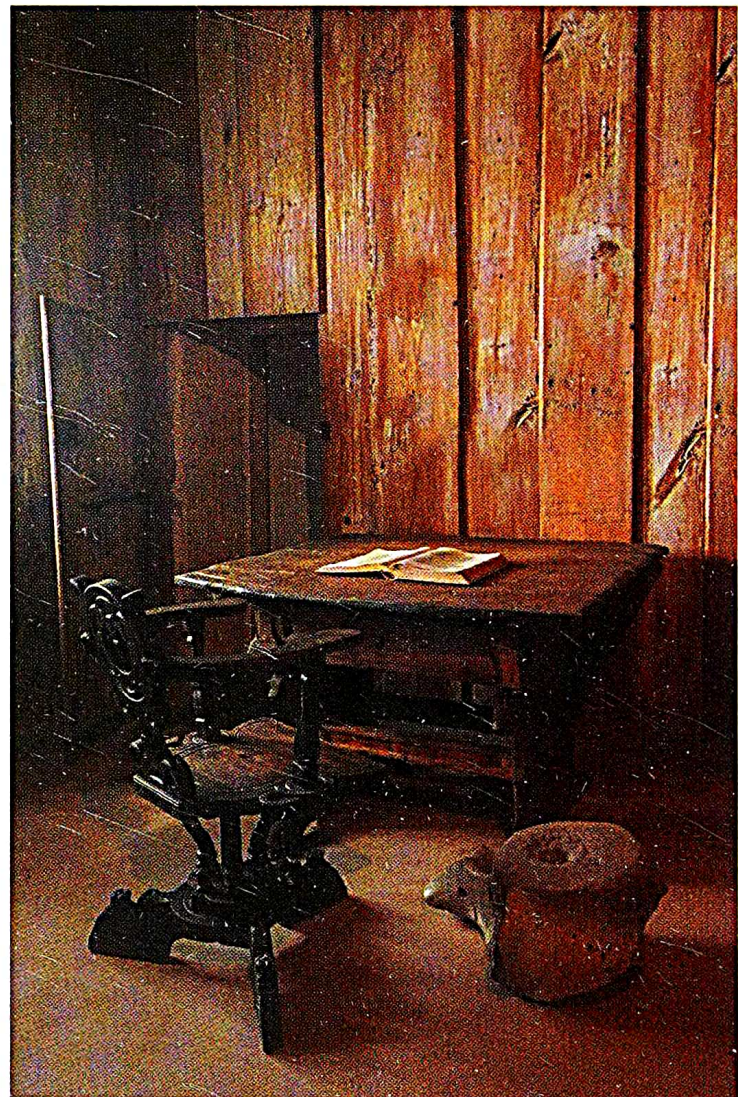
But Luther's ideas and protest – particularly his emphasis on Christian freedom – were helping rapidly to produce socio-religious ferment throughout Germany. Significant numbers of clergy led attacks on the Mass; various towns introduced reforms; many nobles imposed religious change in their estates; and monks and nuns abandoned their vows.

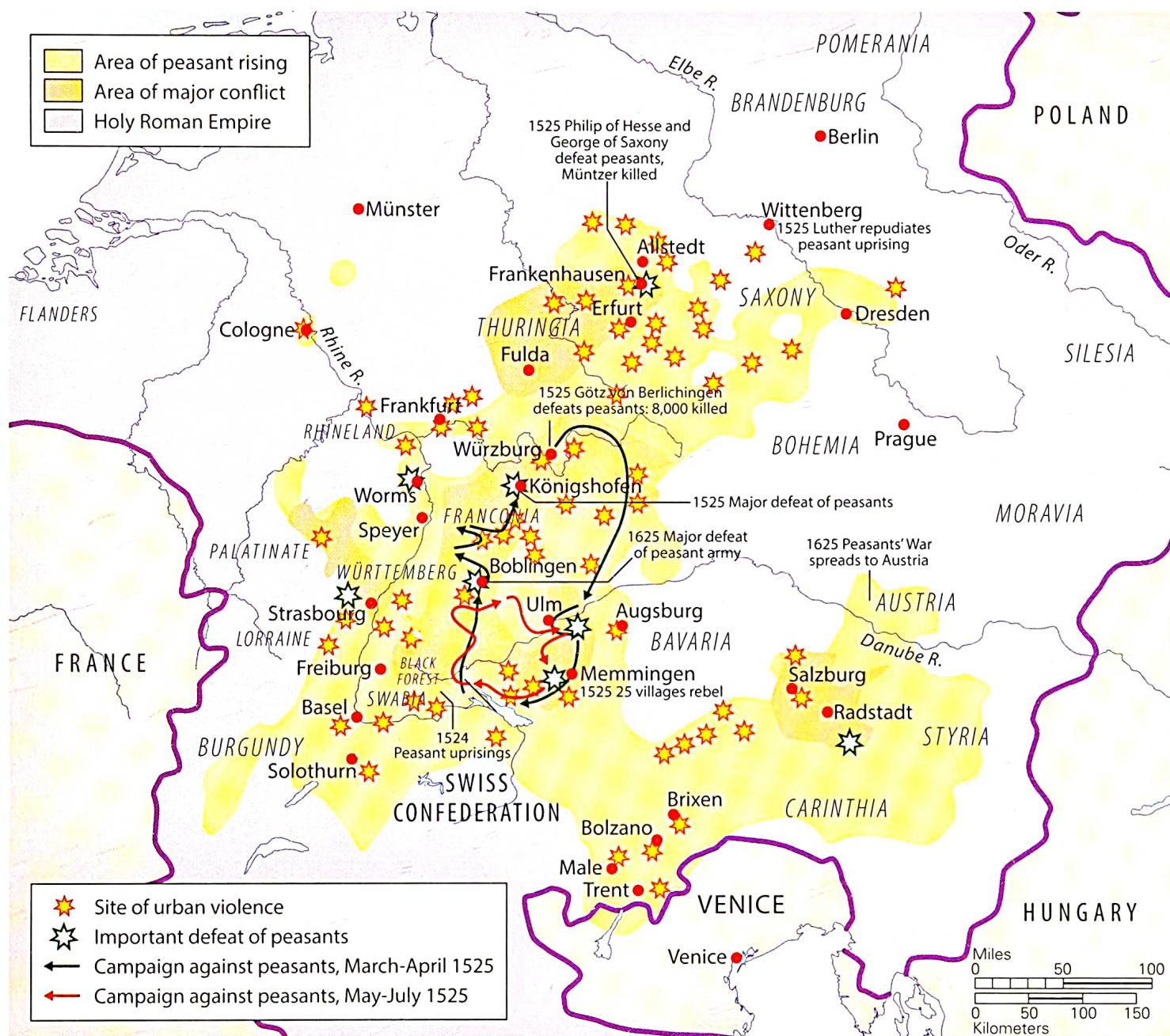
Late in 1524 rural strikes and armed protests flared up across much of the country, escalating into the so-called Peasants' (or better 'Tenants') War, the biggest and most widespread popular uprising in Europe until the French Revolution of 1789. Similar protests had occurred previously, but this was far more extensive, representing the coming together of economic and social grievances with ideas derived from the Reformation. In German-speaking areas as widely scattered as Alsace, the fringes of the Alps, the borders of Bohemia, Hungary, and the kingdom of Poland there were strikes, disorder, and rebellions. Hostility was particularly aimed at clerical landlords. The first three of the Twelve Articles drawn up by the tenant farmers (*Bauern*) of Swabia called for the right to elect the parish priest, to use the tithe locally for the priest and poor, and for the end of serfdom.

Initially the Emperor was preoccupied with Italian wars

against the French, but after gaining a decisive victory at the Battle of Pavia in February 1525 his forces, under Georg III, Truchsess von Waldburg-Zeil (also known as *Bauernjorg*, 1488–1531), turned north to Germany, where with the aid of local princes, such as Philip of Hesse and George of Saxony, they set about putting down the rebellion with bloody battles, torture, and mass killings.

Luther's room in the Wartburg Castle.





Luther responded to the Peasants' Revolt with an *Admonition to Peace* (April 1525) that laid the blame for the rebellion on princes, lords, and 'blind bishops, mad priests, and monks', but reminded the peasants that 'the governing authorities are instituted by God'. However after a perilous journey to negotiate with the rebels, Luther became convinced anarchy was

unleashed and wrote *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*. This was published just days before the rebellion collapsed and appeared to justify the ensuing reign of terror by the Emperor and princes in which the final death toll may have reached 100,000. Luther, the champion of lay Christians, seemed to have turned himself into an apologist for state butchery.

The Reformation progressed strongly in the Swiss city of Zurich. Following the logic of the prohibition in the Ten Commandments on 'making graven images', enthusiastic citizens began to destroy religious statues. Study of the New Testament led some to conclude that the apostles had baptized believing adults – not newborn babies. In accordance with this, in January 1525 a small group of Zurichers first baptized themselves and then others. Since all had been baptized as babies, opponents dubbed them 'Anabaptists', or re-baptizers. The Anabaptists did not regard this as re-baptism but as their first, since infant baptism was no baptism at all.

The Anabaptists soon won many converts, particularly in villages south and east of the city. When the Zurich Anabaptists were arrested most recanted, but in 1526 four were executed by drowning and the others expelled. Anabaptist membership was voluntary and groupings appeared, disappeared, and fluctuated. They were normally only a small minority, and three main strands can be detected.

An influential group of 'Swiss Brethren' met in 1527 near Lake Constance and agreed upon the 'Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles'. They claimed adult baptism was mandatory, the Eucharist was a memorial ordinance, pastors were to be elected, and believers should separate themselves from society – taking no part in civic affairs and renouncing the use of force. They also refused to swear oaths. However although in Wittenberg Karlstadt had also questioned infant baptism, and Luther had ejected the enthusiastic Zwickau prophets, no links have been established between those radicals and the Swiss Anabaptists.

A second strand of the radical movement was focused on southern Germany, with Augsburg an early centre, led by Hans Denck (1495–1527) and a bookseller named Hans Hut (c. 1490–1527).

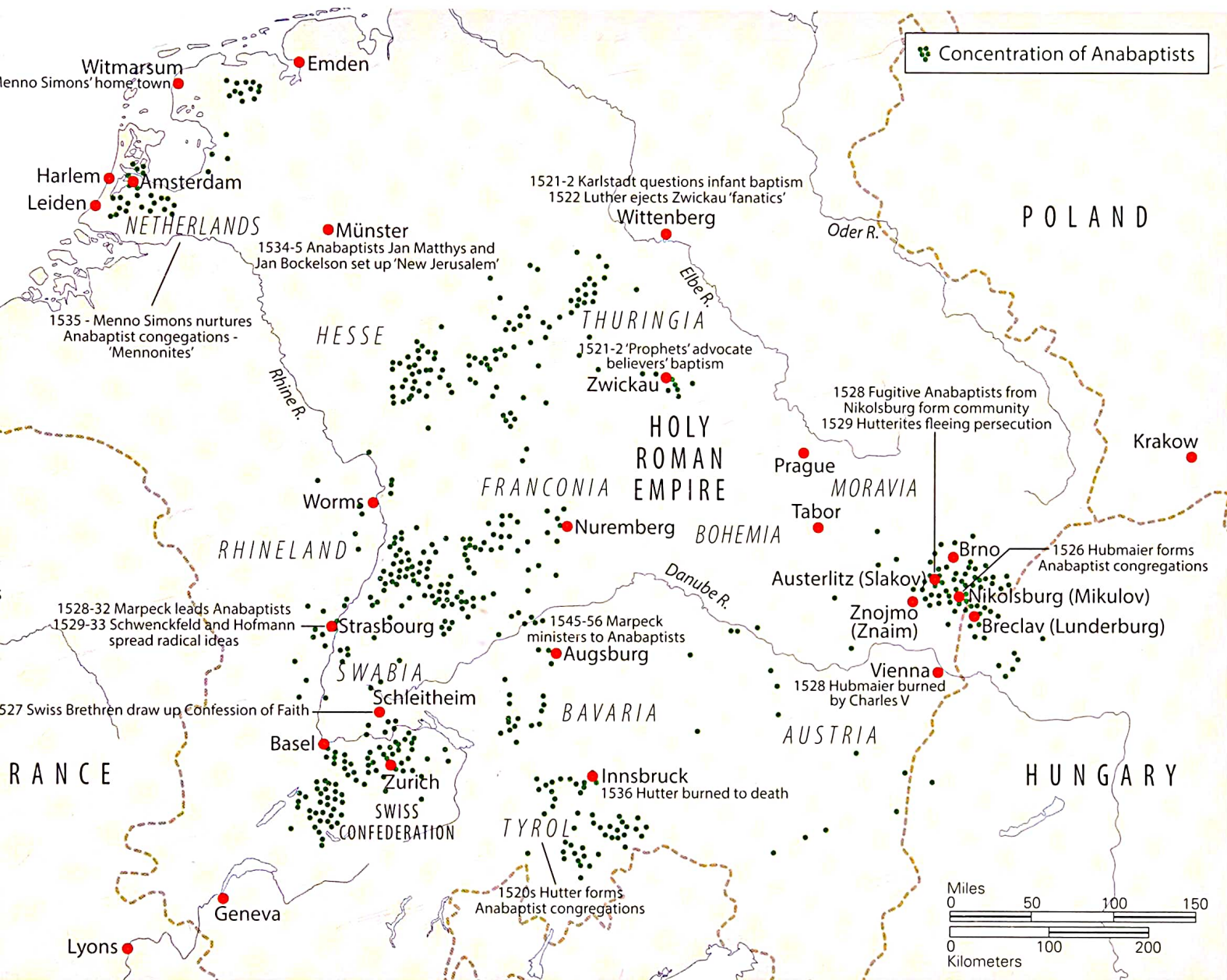
Eventually the Swiss and south German Anabaptists were driven to take refuge in the relative safety of Moravia. Led by Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1485–1528), a refugee from

Waldshut and Zurich, and Jakob Hutter (c. 1500–36), who brought his followers from Tyrol, the 'Hutterites' developed a communal lifestyle and in the third quarter of the sixteenth century possibly numbered 30,000. But soon Moravia ceased to be a safe haven and over the next two centuries survivors of these groups were driven from place to place in Eastern Europe until they found eventual refuge in North America.

The behaviour of a third stream – in north-west Europe – largely accounted for the paranoia concerning Anabaptists that came to dominate the sixteenth century. In the Low Countries the evangelist Melchior Hoffman (c. 1500–c. 1543) won many converts to a form of Anabaptist belief that expected the imminent arrival of God's final triumph. This region was under the direct rule of the Habsburgs, who initiated a merciless persecution of such 'heretics'. Their victims fled, finding refuge in the episcopal city of Münster, where reform was already in progress. By this time Hoffman was in prison in Strasbourg, but the 'Melchiorites' seized control of Münster and proclaimed the 'New Jerusalem'. Thousands from Friesland and nearby flocked to the city to be baptized and await the end of the age.

Münster

In April 1534, the Bishop of Münster joined forces with Lutheran nobles and cities to besiege the city, inside which radical steps were being taken to inaugurate the new



society. Property was declared to be common and polygamy made mandatory. The leaders, headed by the tailor Jan Beukels – 'John of Leiden' – lost all connection with reality. He lived in luxury, took sixteen wives, and proclaimed himself king of the world. In 1535 the city was betrayed to the bishop and resistance collapsed in a bloodbath.

The fall of Münster marked the end of militant Anabaptism – apart from the radical sect of Zwaardgeesten ('sword-minded') led by Jan van Batenburg (1495–1538) – as

a wave of persecution swept across Europe and thousands were slaughtered. Of the survivors, many turned to mysticism and inner enlightenment. The largest group was nurtured by the clandestine ministry of a former country priest, Menno Simons (1496–1561). These Mennonite communities – quietist and pacifist – survived continual Habsburg persecution and when the Dutch Republic was set up later in the century eventually achieved toleration.

The Ashkenazi Jews of northern Europe suffered frequent and widespread persecution during the Middle Ages. Jews were allowed by law to live only in restricted areas and work in prescribed businesses, such as money-lending to princes and merchants; hence the caricature of the Jew as extortionist and usurer. Although there had been major urban Jewish communities in German-speaking regions, many were expelled for allegedly poisoning wells or spreading plague – from Cologne in 1424, from Munich in 1442, and from Nuremberg in 1499.

A Catholic priest in Regensburg (Ratisbon), Balthasar Hübmaier (c. 1485–1528) preached a series of diatribes against the Jews that led to the burning of their synagogue and expulsion of the large Jewish community. In his later years, Martin Luther looked in disappointment at what he regarded as the partial failure and corruption of the Reformation. He had anticipated that the conversion of the Jews would accompany the restoration of a purified gospel. When this didn't happen, he turned against the Jews with some of his most scurrilous writing in the tract *Of the Jews and Their Lies*, where he argued that synagogues and Jewish schools should be burned, rabbis forbidden to teach, and Jewish religious books confiscated.

In a period of economic inflation, and against the background of the Peasants' War, the German Knights' War, the threat of Turkish invasion, the wars of religion, and recurring epidemics in the expanding cities, the frustrations and resentments of the masses during the sixteenth century found easy release in attacks on the Jews.

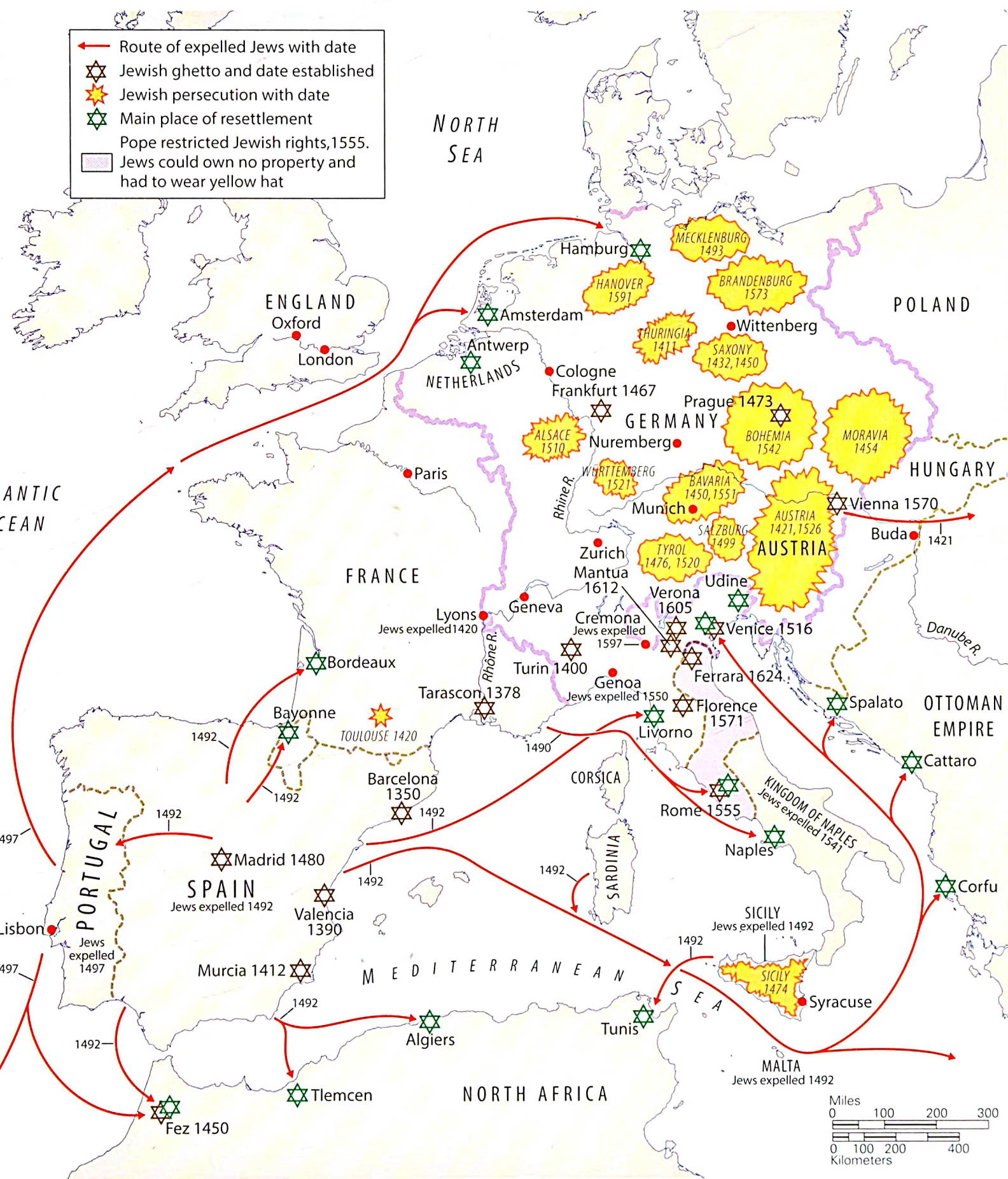
Inquisition

The Sephardic Jews of Spain were largely unaffected by the Christian reconquest of the Iberian peninsula and lived in established communities. However, growing political instability and condemnatory sermons by church leaders turned people against them.

In 1391 anti-Jewish violence in Seville spread to Castile and Aragon. Thousands of Jews chose to convert to Christianity and were labelled *marranos* ('swine'). By the middle of the fifteenth century they faced renewed hostility when the Spanish Inquisition questioned the genuineness of their new Christian faith, often using barbaric methods to root out crypto-Jews.

In 1492, after the capture of the Alhambra of Granada – the last bastion of Islam – Ferdinand and Isabella banished all Jews from Spain. Between 100,000 and 150,000 Jews departed, some across the border to Portugal, but most to North Africa or Ottoman Turkey. Some found refuge in the Papal States, where the Inquisition was less severe than in Spain, and where they were to influence the thinking of some north Italian Humanists and radical reformers, among whom Anti-Trinitarianism frequently appeared.

The Counter-Reformation later brought renewed suffering to the Jews of Catholic Europe. The papal bull *Vices eius nos* (1577) required 100 male and 50 female Jews in the papal states to attend conversionist sermons every Saturday afternoon (the Jewish Sabbath) in a church near the ghetto, often delivered by renegade Jews such as the medical doctor Vitale de' Medici (previously the rabbi Jehiel da Pesaro), a custom that continued in Italy and France until the French Revolution.



After Luther's death Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), born at Bretten, near Karlsruhe, took over theological leadership of the movement that Luther had instigated. Something of a prodigy – the University of Heidelberg turned him down for a master's degree because he was only fifteen – Melanchthon began to publish at the age of seventeen and in 1518 was appointed Professor of Greek at the new University of Wittenberg. There he met Luther in a decisive encounter that transformed him from a humanist to a theologian and reformer. With his gift for logical consistency and wide knowledge of history, in some ways Melanchthon influenced Protestantism more strongly than Luther, whose work he consolidated and systematized.

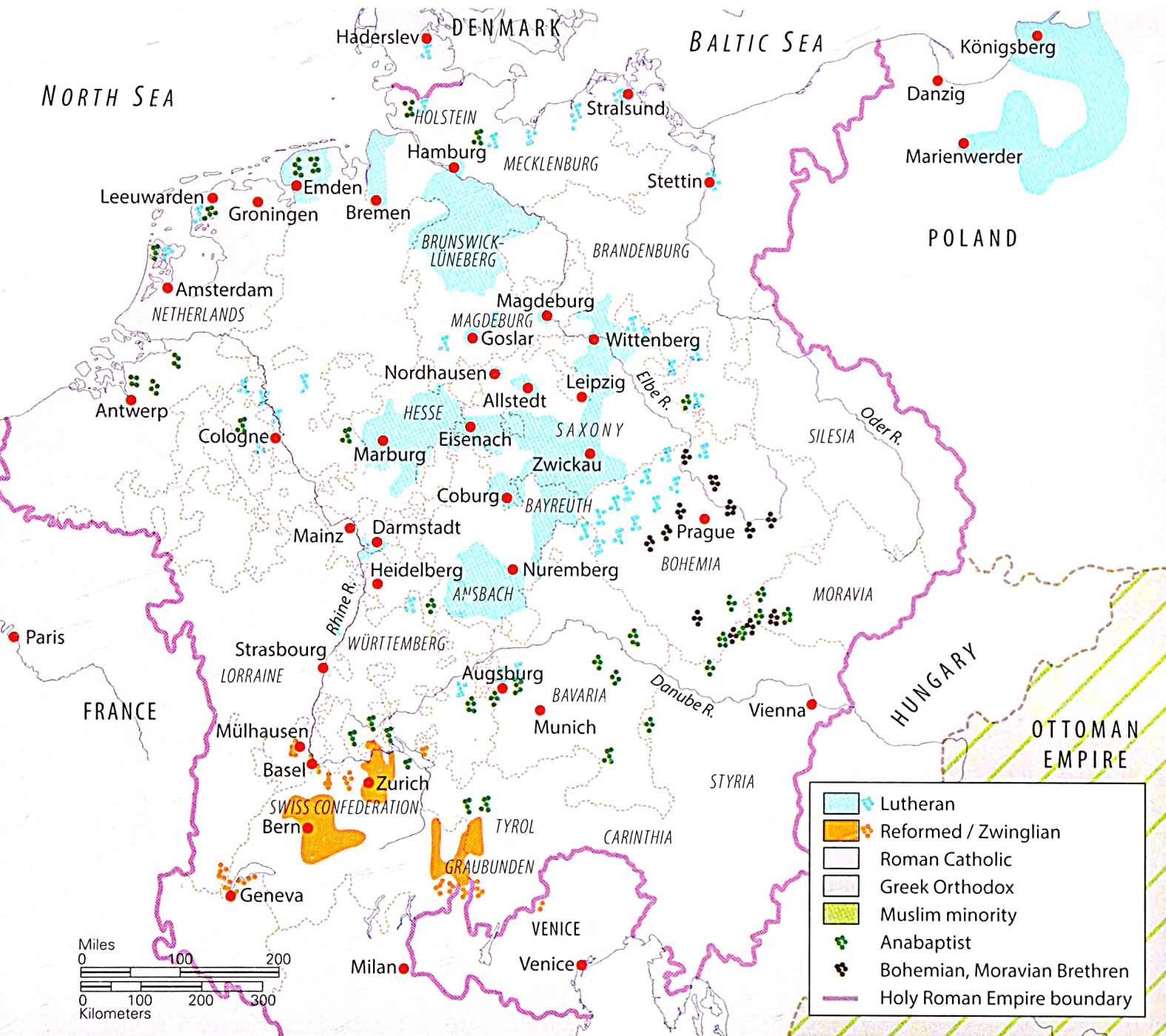
Melanchthon publicly supported Luther at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, and when Luther was away from Wittenberg represented and defended him. In 1521, he wrote his *Commonplaces* (*Loci communes*), the first book to set out systematically the teachings of the Reformation. He also contributed to Luther's German translation of the Bible. At the Marburg Colloquy of 1529 Melanchthon opposed Zwingli, claiming the service of holy communion was more than a memorial.

Luther himself was little influenced by Humanism; even in his hymns and exegesis he remained a preacher. Melanchthon, by contrast, combined the irenical style of an intellectual debater with the devotion to education of a teacher. He wrote the Augsburg Confession (1530), which remains the chief statement of faith in the Lutheran churches, in part to emphasize the common ground between Catholics and Protestants, and he also participated in important attempts at Christian reunion in 1540 and 1541. Melanchthon often seemed prepared to concede some matters of doctrine to the Roman Catholics for the sake of peace, believing reunion to be essential.

Melanchthon's influence was crucial in what ultimately became the Lutheran Church, although theological struggles with other Lutherans deeply troubled him. In 1548, two years after Luther's death, he accepted an agreement called the Leipzig Interim

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560).





that re-established, among other things, the Latin Mass, the festival of Corpus Christi, and extreme unction. He claimed these were 'things indifferent' (*adiaphora*), but was denounced by Matthias Flacius (1520–75) and the Lutheran theological world divided. Years of doctrinal argument ended only when

agreement was reached in the Formula of Concord (1577–80), which reaffirmed the sinner's total spiritual inability and God's unconditional predestination of the elect to faith, but also claimed that an external call to salvation reaches all people and that finally it is possible to fall from grace.

Luther had called upon German princes to carry through church reform if the pope and bishops failed to do so, but by 1529 the territories controlled by princes supporting Luther was still quite limited. Lutheranism had faced several potentially disastrous events in the mid-1520s. The problems with extremists in Wittenberg had led to open conflict and defections from the movement, as had a furious debate between Luther and Erasmus on the freedom of the will. In addition, the Peasants' Revolt lost the Lutherans much of their lower-class support.

Despite these reverses, the movement had expanded after the Edict of Worms (1521). Charles V had left Germany to deal with revolt in Spain and with threats from Francis I of France and Suleiman the Magnificent, and did not return until 1529. These nine years of imperial absence were of immeasurable benefit to the spread and strengthening of the Reformation in Germany.

With Charles not present, the Diet of Speyer in 1526 made a vague ruling on religion: 'Every estate should so live, rule, and believe as he may hope to answer to God and his imperial majesty.' Rulers such as Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse (r. 1518-67), an early and staunch defender of the Protestant cause, used this to justify their action in establishing a Lutheran church in their lands. Yet reformed areas such as Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick-Lüneberg, Ansbach, and other small isolated scattered outposts of Lutheranism were surrounded by Catholic territories.

Marburg Colloquy

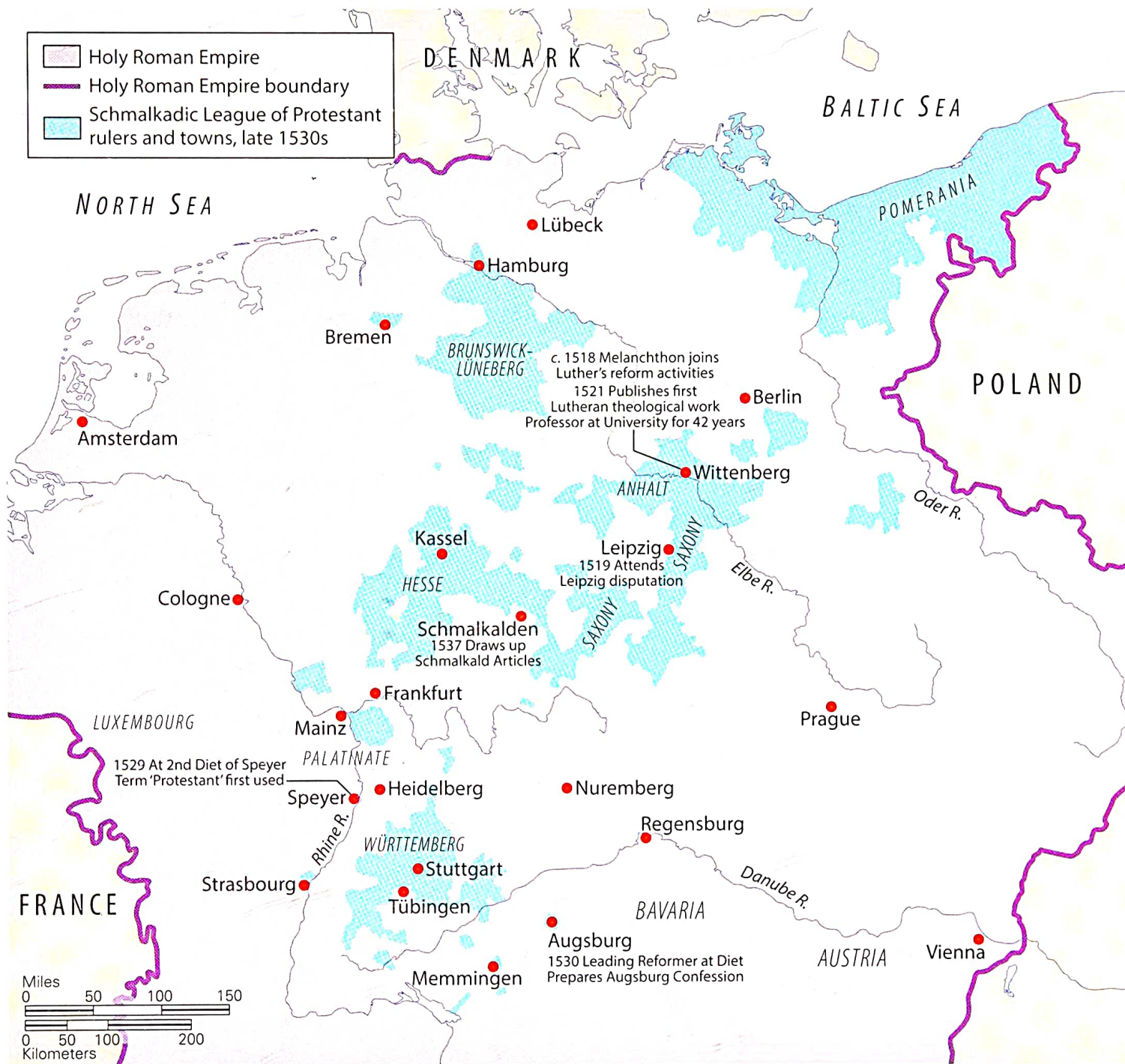
In 1529 Philip of Hesse summoned a gathering of reforming theologians to his castle in Marburg for a colloquy, with the aim of achieving an evangelical alliance. Among those attending were Luther himself; Melancthon; Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), a Wittenberg ally of Luther who later led the reformation in Hamburg; Justus Jonas (1493-1555), who helped reorganize the university at Wittenberg and led the reformation in Halle; Andreas Osiander (1498-1552), an evangelical

preacher in Nuremberg; Johann Agricola (1494-1566), reformer at Frankfurt-am-Main and Eisleben, and later church superintendent in Berlin; Johannes Brenz (1499-1570), reformer of Württemberg and reorganizer of the university in Tübingen; Martin Bucer; Huldrych Zwingli; and Johann Oecolampadius (1482-1531), who led reform in the Swiss cantons of Basel and Bern. The colloquy participants reached agreement on many points, but remained irreconcilably divided over their understanding of the Eucharist.

At the Diet of Speyer (1529) a Catholic majority attempted to prohibit the further spread of Lutheranism and to ensure toleration for Catholics in Lutheran territories. The Lutheran princes 'protested' against this – thereby originating the term 'Protestant'.

Diet of Augsburg

At the ensuing Imperial Diet at Augsburg (1530), attended by Charles V, there were high hopes of re-uniting the opposing parties on the basis of points agreed at Marburg. The Lutherans submitted their beliefs in the form of the Augsburg Confession (or *Augustana*); Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau presented the Tetrapolitan Confession; and Zwingli sent his *Fidei Ratio*. But the Catholics refused all of these and the Emperor ordered a recess. The Protestant princes realized that the Emperor now intended to make war on Protestantism, so formed in response the Schmalkaldic League.



When the papal legate formed a league of German princes loyal to Rome, Philip of Hesse created in 1531 a defensive alliance of princes and cities friendly to reform and known as the Schmalkaldic League, consisting of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Mansfeld, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasbourg. Prince Albert of Hohenzollern, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, also crossed over to the Lutherans, bringing East Prussia with him.

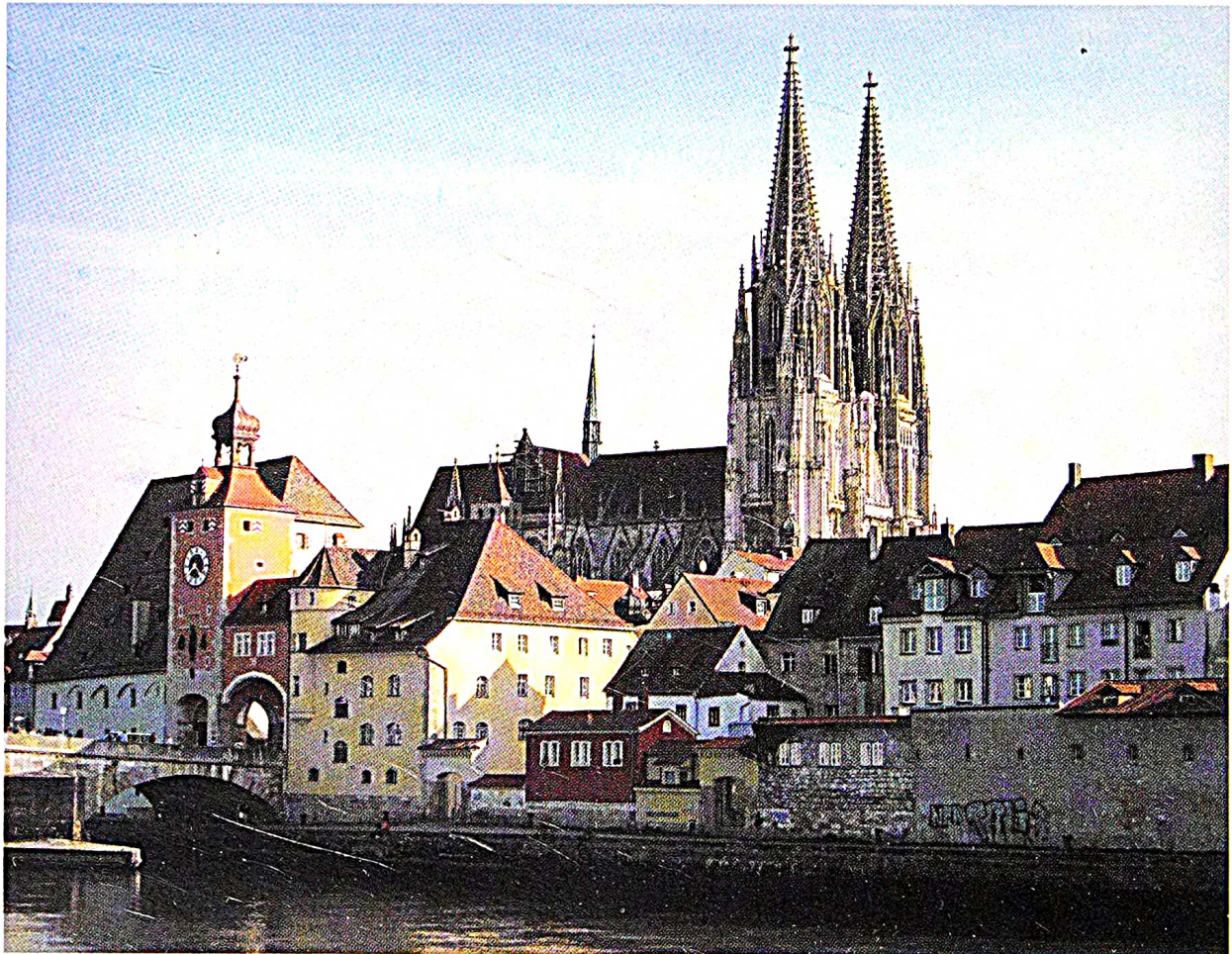
This Protestant alliance was not tested immediately because a threatened Turkish invasion produced a truce between the Emperor and the Schmalkaldic League in 1532. Charles V was then away from Germany until 1541, fighting a series of wars with Francis I of France. Meanwhile Philip of Hesse intervened in Württemberg to restore the Protestant Duke Ulrich to his throne, thereby compelling Charles V's brother to relinquish his claim to the duchy.

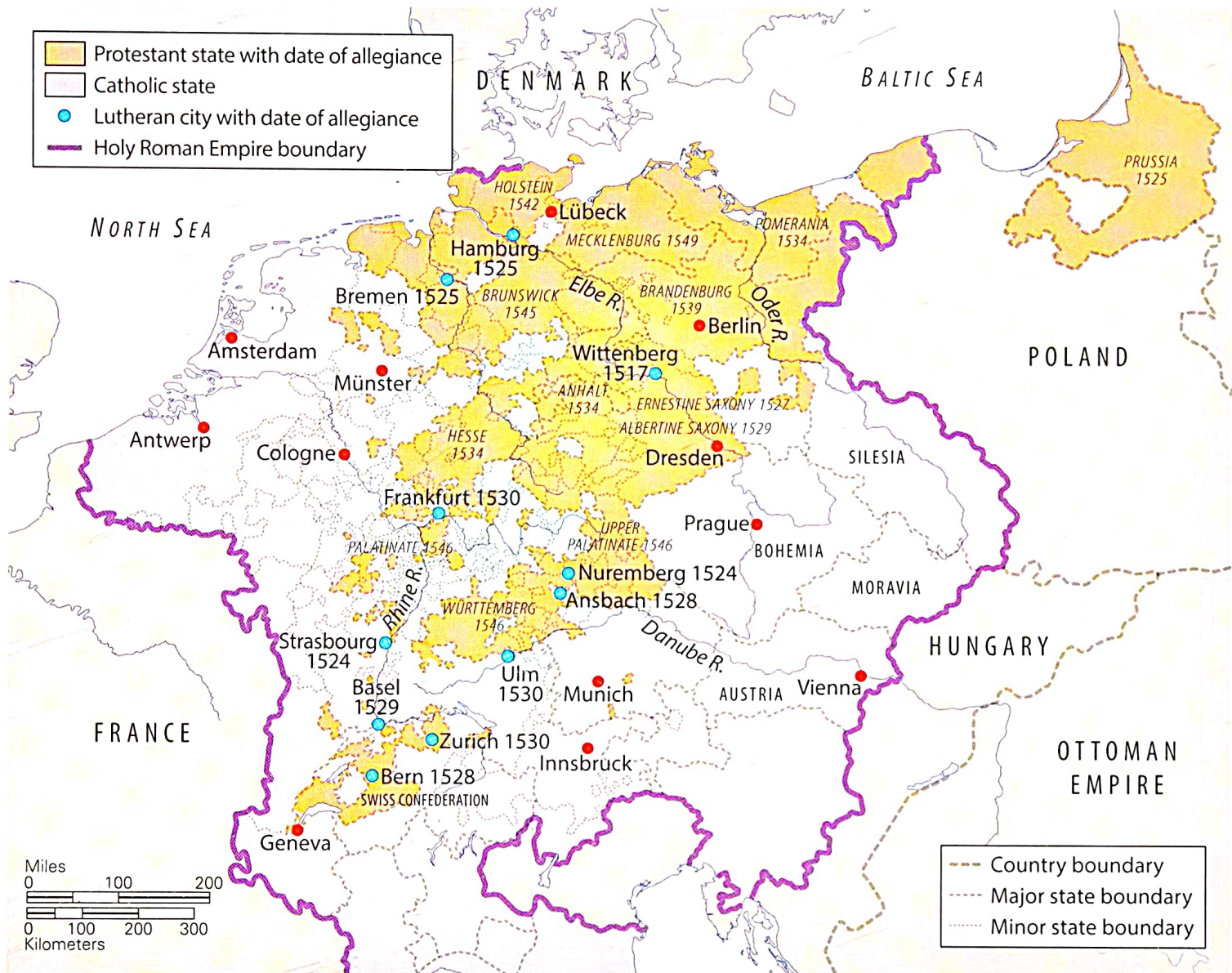
By means of conferences at Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg between 1540 and 1541, designed to find some form

of compromise between Catholics and Protestants, Charles V tried to persuade the papacy to participate in efforts at church reconciliation. But Rome was suspicious of these, as were hard-line Lutherans.

In 1546 Charles V returned to Germany determined finally to suppress Protestantism. Things now looked propitious for him. Luther had died the same year, and Philip of Hesse had lost public esteem as a result of his bigamous marriage.

The cathedral and Danube river, Regensburg, Bavaria, Germany.





Schmalkaldic War

The Schmalkaldic War broke out in 1547. The Emperor defeated the Protestant forces and imprisoned their leaders Philip of Hesse and his brother-in-law, John of Saxony. But the Protestant Maurice of Saxony – who initially supported the Emperor – changed sides and fought back successfully. By the Treaty of Passau (1552) Protestantism was legally recognized, a settlement confirmed in the 'Interim' of 1555.

This attempt to settle the religious issues without a church council resulted

in a compromise acceptable neither to the Protestants nor the Catholics; only the presence of Spanish troops in northern Europe kept it in force. The so-called War of Liberation followed in which an alliance between Maurice, Elector of Saxony and Henry II of France led to the defeat of Charles V and his flight across the Alps. The ensuing Peace of Augsburg (1555) showed significant Protestant gains compared with 1529.

Huldrych Zwingli

The Swiss Reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) was born in Wildhaus, north-east Switzerland. Educated in Basel, Berne, and Vienna, between 1506 and 1516 he was vicar at Glarus, where he learned Greek and possibly Hebrew, and studied the Church Fathers. He acted as chaplain to Swiss mercenary forces at the battle of Novara (1513) and at Marignano (1515), an experience that led him to oppose the use of mercenary soldiers.

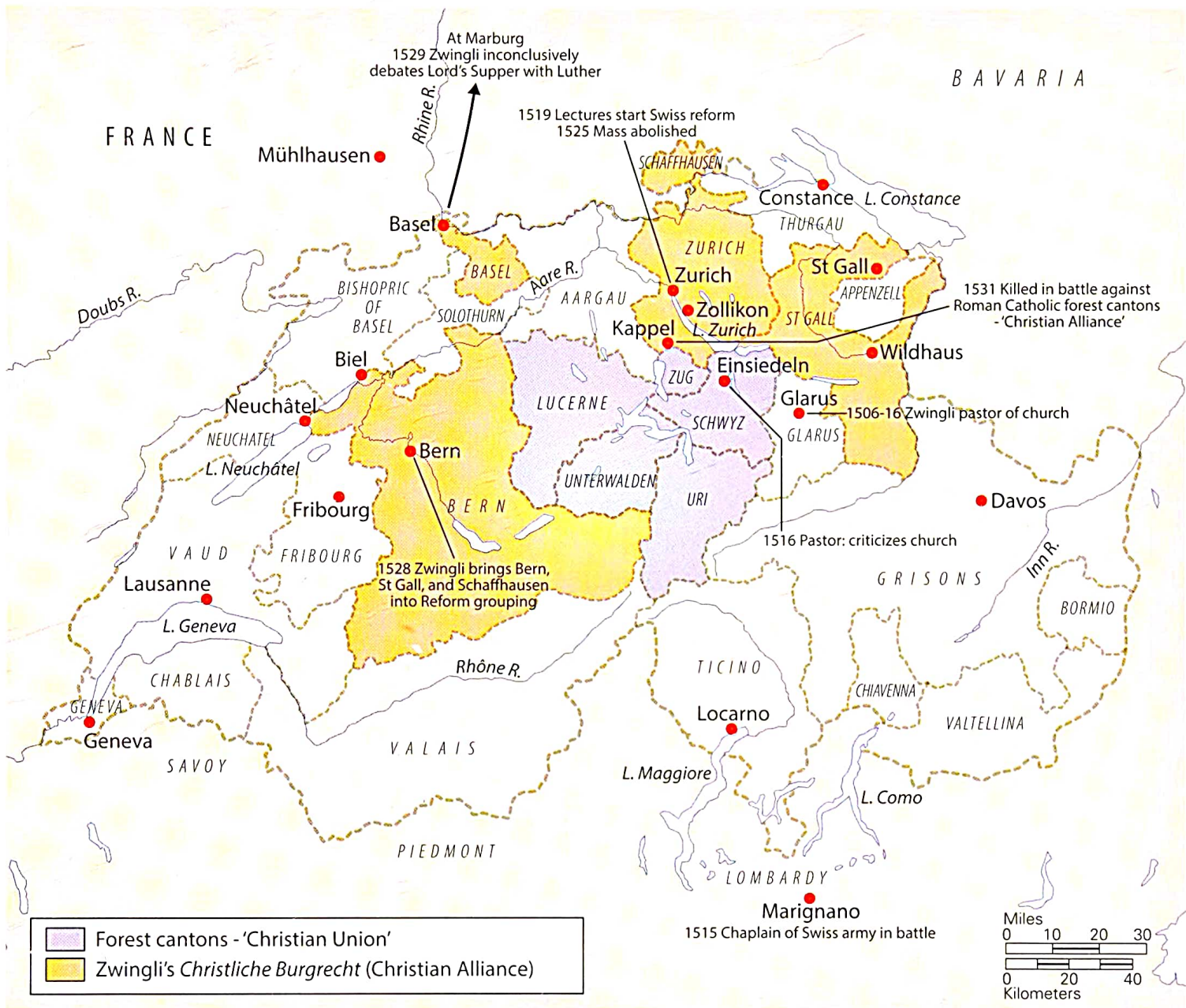
In 1515 Zwingli met Erasmus and was deeply influenced by his Humanist teaching. After his forced transfer to Einsiedeln, Zwingli began to develop evangelical beliefs as he reflected on abuses in the church. In 1518 he was made peoples' priest at Zurich's Grossmünster (cathedral), where he lectured on the New Testament and began to reform the city, working closely with the council. Luther's writings and example helped convert Zwingli from criticism of corruption in the church to a passionate reformer who wanted to win Zurich to the evangelical cause. When Zwingli won a disputation at Bern in 1528, Basel, Gall, Schaffhausen, and Constance all joined the reform movement.

Zwingli was a close friend and confidant of Philip of Hesse, the most influential Protestant prince in Germany. Together they conceived a Protestant federation extending from Switzerland to Denmark, defending Reform against the pope, the emperor, Catholic princes, and the Ottoman Turks. This vision died at the Marburg Colloquy (1529), for Luther would not agree to an

Grossmünster, Zurich.

Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531).





alliance with the Swiss and with Protestant Strasbourg, both of whom denied the real presence in terms of Christ's corporal presence in the elements of the Lord's Supper.

Because of these differences over the Eucharist, the Swiss reform movement forfeited the support of the German princes.

Zwingli now turned to force to establish evangelical preaching in the mountain cantons. The Second Kappel War broke out in 1531 when a blockade led to five Catholic forest cantons sending an army against Zurich. Zwingli was killed at the Battle of Kappel (1531).

Martin Bucer (or Butzer, 1491–1551) was born at Sélestat, Alsace, thirty miles south of Strasbourg. He joined the Dominican order as a novice aged fifteen, and later became interested in Humanism and met Luther. In 1521 he was released from the Dominicans, began to preach reform, and in 1522 married a former nun, Elisabeth Silbereisen (c. 1495–1541). The following year he had to take refuge in the tolerant city of Strasbourg, where he led the reform and in 1540 became superintendent of the churches.

At Strasbourg he held discussions and public debates with radical reformers and started house-meetings to improve Christian living among preachers and laypeople. In a vitriolic age, Bucer was notable for his compassion, dedicating himself to church unity. He became one of the Reformers' chief statesmen, attending most of their important conferences and colloquies. In an effort to unite the German and Swiss Reformed churches, Bucer strove to mediate between Zwingli and Luther. He also took part in ultimately unsuccessful conferences with Roman Catholics at Hagenau, Worms, and Ratisbon.

Hesse

Bucer worked as advisor to the Landgrave Philip I in the reformation of Hesse. After Bucer held a series of sympathetic debates, hundreds of Anabaptists in Hesse rejoined the official Protestant church in 1538, a conversion unique in the sixteenth century, when rulers usually dealt with Anabaptists by expulsion, persecution, or execution. Bucer also assisted the Archbishop-Elector Hermann von Wied (1477–1552) in his vain

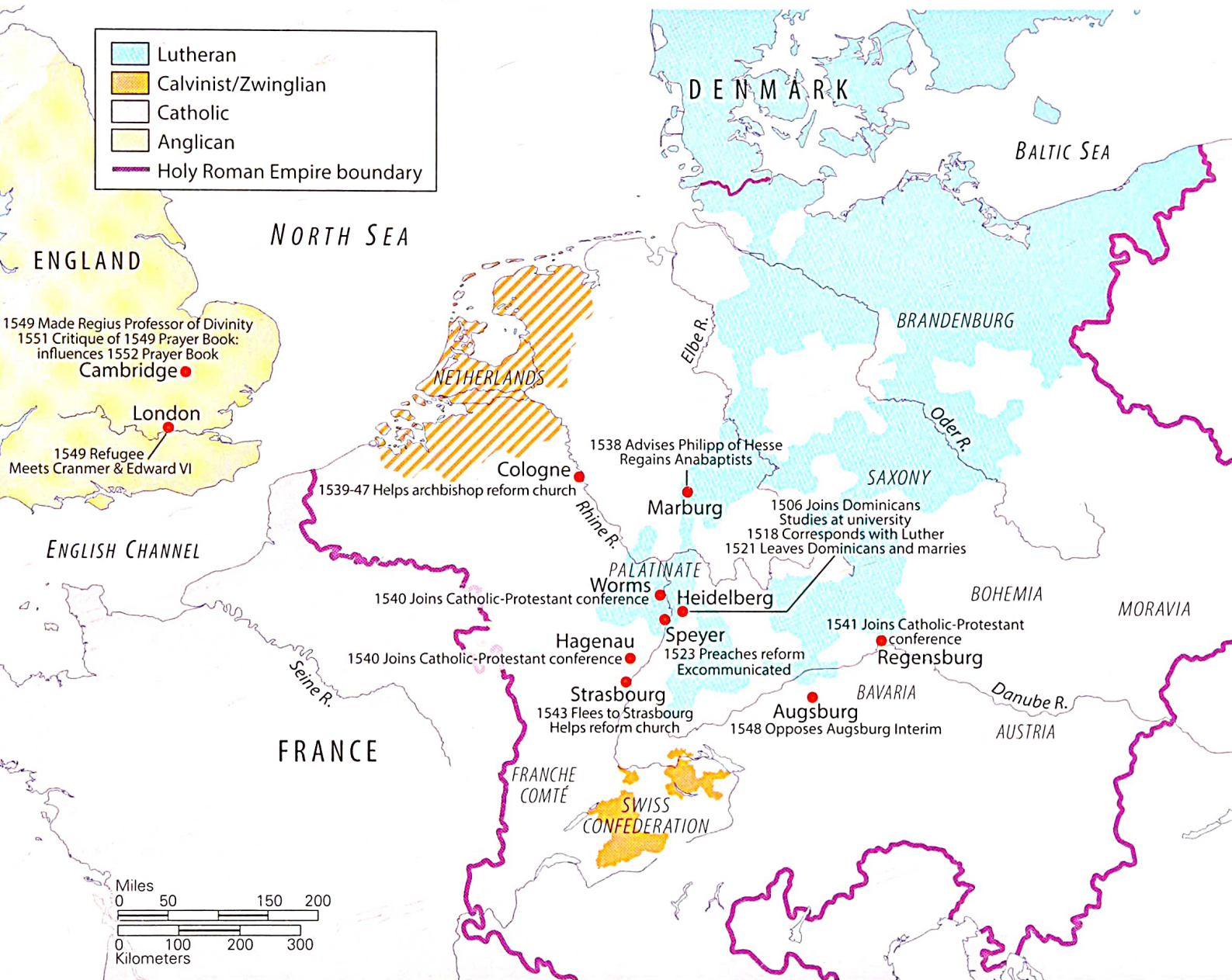
attempt to reform the church in Cologne. Bucer developed an evangelical rite of confirmation, which spread from Strasbourg to Swiss and German Protestants, and later to Anglicanism.

Cambridge

After Bucer resisted the Emperor's religious settlement, the Augsburg Interim, he was forced to leave Strasbourg in 1549, fleeing to Cambridge, England. Around this time

Martin Bucer (1491–1551).





Archbishop Cranmer welcomed many prominent overseas Reformers displaced by Catholic victories in central Europe, particularly non-Lutherans such as Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), Jan Łaski (John a Lasco 1499–1560), and Martin Bucer, with whom he had been quietly corresponding for several years. With the

advice and support of Vermigli and Bucer, Cranmer produced his second Prayer Book in 1552, far more radical than the stop-gap version of 1549. Martin Bucer died in Cambridge in 1551, but his body was exhumed and burned during the Catholic reaction under Mary Tudor.

The Genevan Reformer Jean (John) Calvin (1509–64) was an important shaper of the Reformed tradition in Protestantism, a position already defined by such Reformers as Zwingli, Bullinger, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Vermigli. Born at Noyon, Picardy, northern France, in contrast to Luther, Calvin was a quiet, sensitive man with an immovable will. Calvin studied Latin and philosophy in Paris, followed by civil law at the universities of Orléans and Bourges, where he also learned Greek. He soon took up the methods of Humanism. In Paris, the young Calvin encountered the teachings of Luther, and around 1533 experienced conversion: ‘God subdued and brought my heart to docility.’ He broke with Roman Catholicism, fled persecution in Paris in 1533, and found refuge in Angoulême, Noyon, and Orleans. Calvin finally left France and lived as an exile in Basel, where he began to formulate his theology, and in 1536 published the first edition of *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (*The Institution of the Christian Religion*, better known as the *Institutes*), a brief, clear statement of Reformation beliefs.

In 1536 Calvin visited Ferrara briefly and, en route to Strasbourg, was prevailed upon by Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), the Reformer of Geneva, to help consolidate the Reformation there. But Genevans opposed Calvin’s efforts, and disputes in the town and a quarrel with the city of Bern resulted in the expulsion of both Calvin and Farel in 1538.

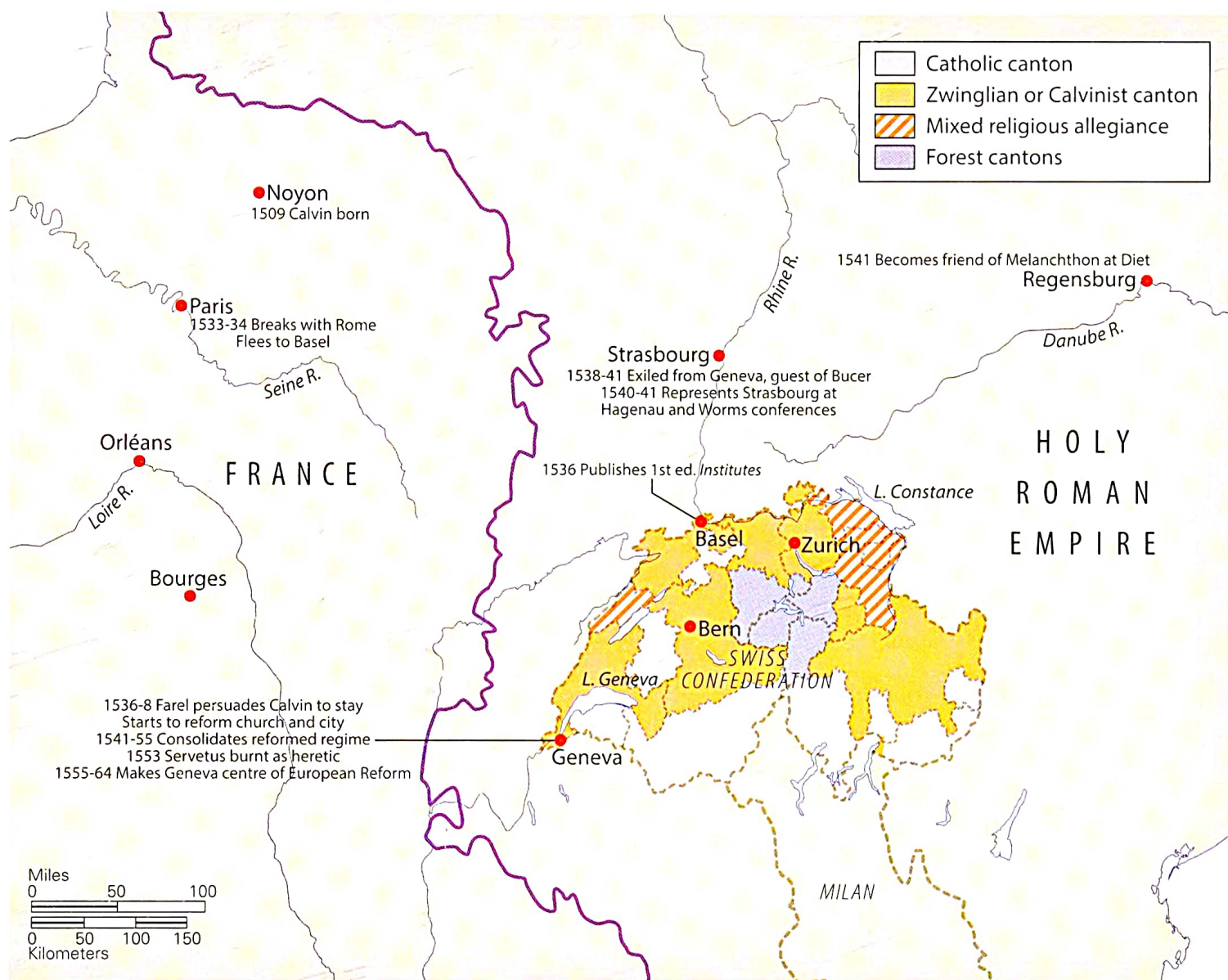
Calvin now fled to Strasbourg, where he was encouraged and influenced by Martin Bucer. The years in this city, where he ministered to the French Protestant refugees and taught theology, were among his happiest. In March 1540 Calvin published his commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Romans, followed by other commentaries and a new, enlarged version of the *Institutes*. Calvin continued to rewrite and expand the *Institutes*, which became a classic statement of Reformation theology; by the final 1559 edition, the original six chapters had become eighty. Calvin was a great systematizer, taking up and reapplying the ideas of the first generation of Reformers.

Return to Geneva

In September 1541 Calvin was invited back to Geneva, where he now tried to bring the citizens under the moral discipline of the

John Calvin (1509–64).





church, aiming to create a 'mature' church by preaching daily to the people. Many resented his strictures, especially as they were imposed by a foreigner.

Calvin also devoted energy to settling differences within Protestantism. The *Consensus Tigurinus* on the Lord's Supper (1549) resulted in the German- and French-speaking churches of Switzerland moving closer together. In 1553 the Spaniard Michael Servetus (1509/11–53), a notorious critic of Calvin and of the doctrine of the Trinity, was arrested and burnt in Geneva. Already

on the run from the Inquisition, Servetus was regarded by all as a heretic; Protestant reformers felt they could not afford to be seen as soft on heresy.

Calvin wanted to build a visible 'City of God' in Europe – with Geneva as a starting-point. He founded the Geneva Academy, to which students of theology came from all parts of western and central Europe, and particularly France. Calvin remained in Geneva the rest of his life, training missionaries to export reform, especially back to France.

By 1513 Switzerland consisted of thirteen cantons – six rural and seven urban – along with a number of allied states. During the fifteenth century the Swiss had won military victories against Burgundy, Milan, and finally in 1499 the Emperor, and were *de facto* independent. In politics and religion each canton had a high degree of autonomy.

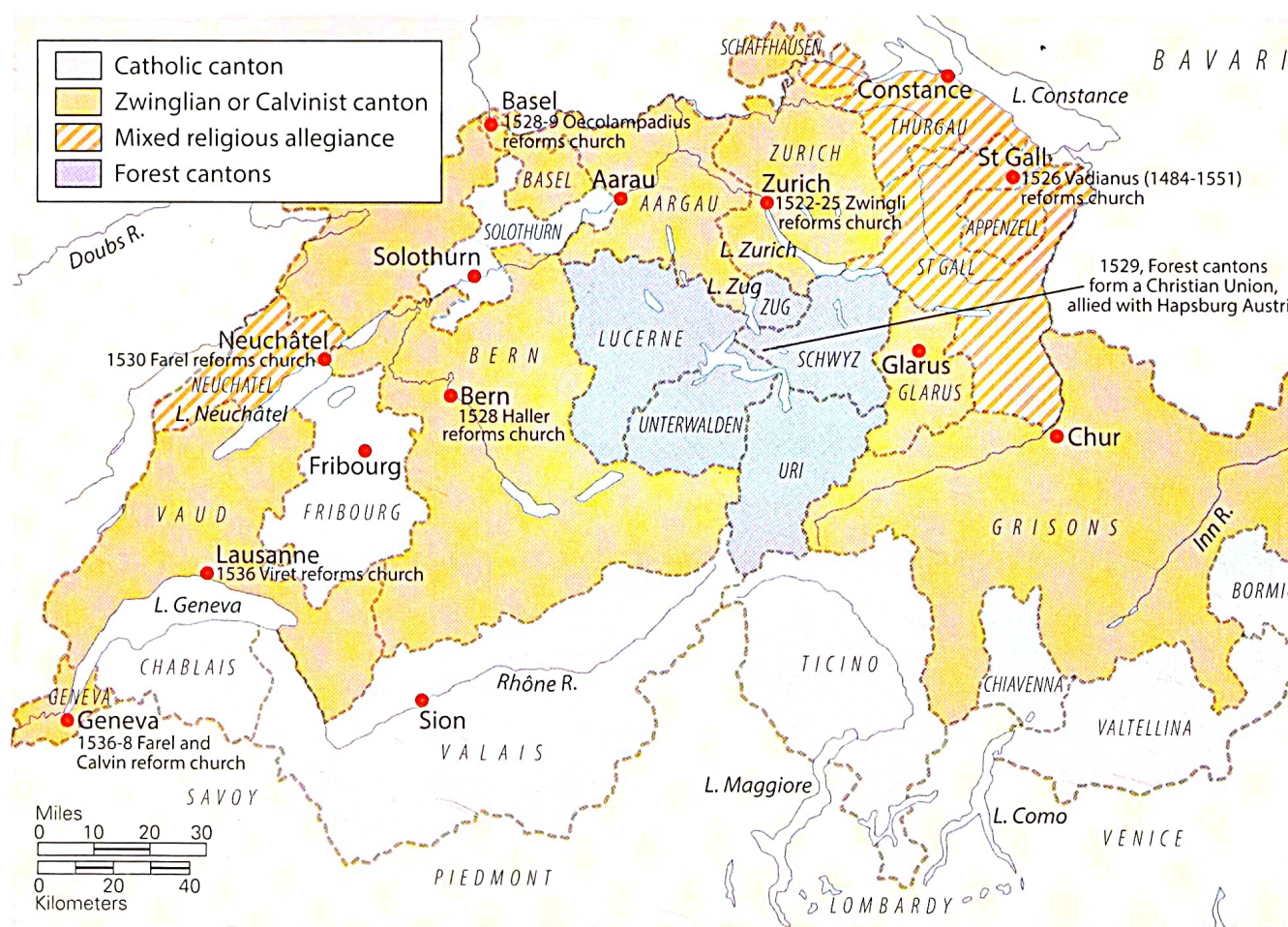
Reformation came to Zurich at the same time as Germany, but independently. Its theology was similar to Luther's, except in the understanding of the Eucharist. By 1528 Bern, Basel (led by Johann Oecolampadius), St Gall, and Schaffhausen had also embraced Reform; shortly after this Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) introduced Reform in Neuchâtel and Geneva.

In 1524 the four traditionally conservative mountain cantons formed a Christian Union to resist Reform; in response the Zwinglians of Zurich and Constance formed their own Christian Alliance (1527), joined later by others.

After Zwingli's untimely death at the Battle of Kappel (1531), the leadership in Zurich passed to Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75), who produced the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549), a lengthy essay on the Lord's Supper co-authored with John Calvin, and the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), which brought together the German-speaking and French-speaking Reformation parties and was adopted by non-Lutheran churches in Switzerland, Scotland, France, Poland, and Hungary. Bullinger's importance in the Reformation has been widely underestimated: in England he was to become more influential than Calvin.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND

map 26



John Calvin set about establishing Geneva as a model Reformed city, which it duly became as a result of his activities and the Academy that he established in 1559 to train reformers for Western Europe, which became the University of Geneva. Geneva also became the print capital of Protestant Europe, with more than thirty presses publishing literature in a number of languages. Calvin's systematized Protestantism, set out in his *Institutes*, quickly became the vehicle of Reformed Protestantism. John Knox, the Scots Protestant leader, called Geneva 'the most perfect school of Christ'.

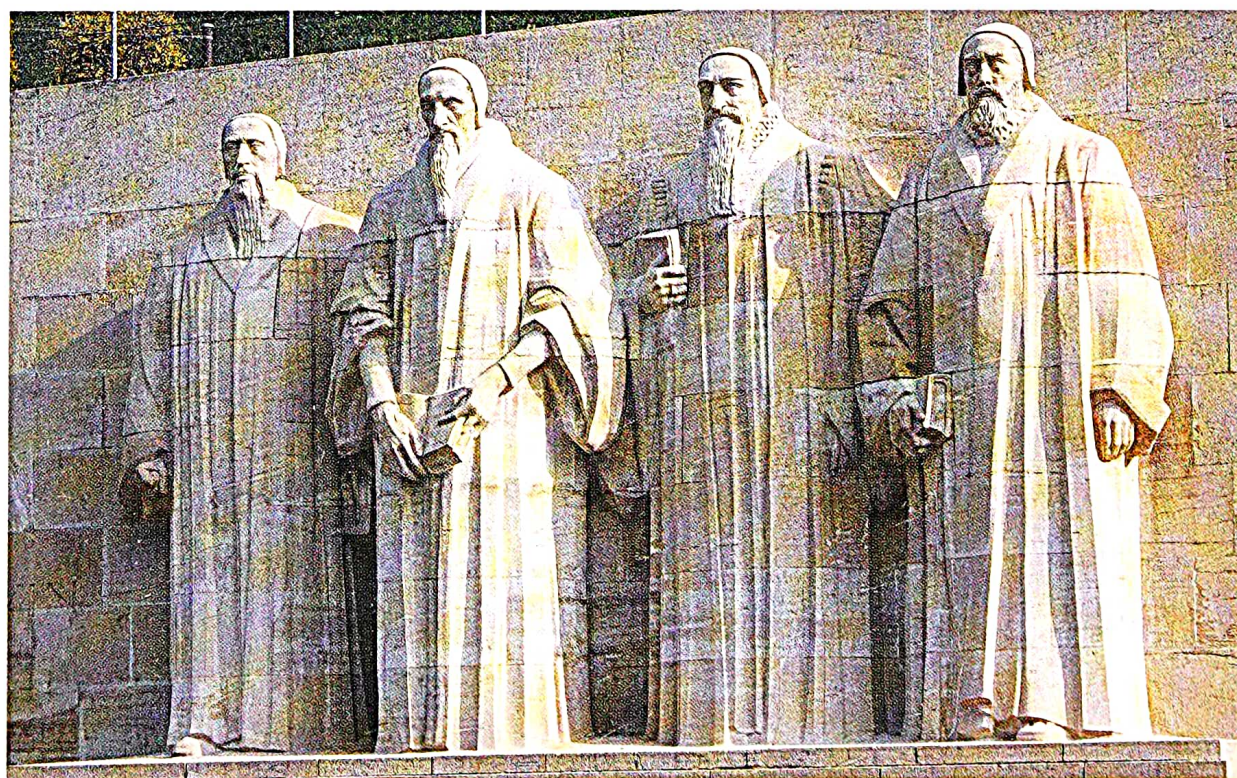
By 1555 Calvinism was spreading, but had not gained official acceptance apart from in Geneva and the tiny kingdom of Navarre, on the French side of the Pyrenees. Calvinism took early root in many places where Waldensian churches had previously been active.

The most promising area for the growth of Calvinism was France, Calvin's homeland. Many French Protestants came to Geneva to train before carrying Calvin's theology home. In 1559 the Geneva Academy had 162 students; by 1564 more than 1500, mostly foreign. The first Huguenot (Reformed) ministers arrived in France in 1553; by the time of Calvin's death it is estimated some two million French people professed the Reformed faith.

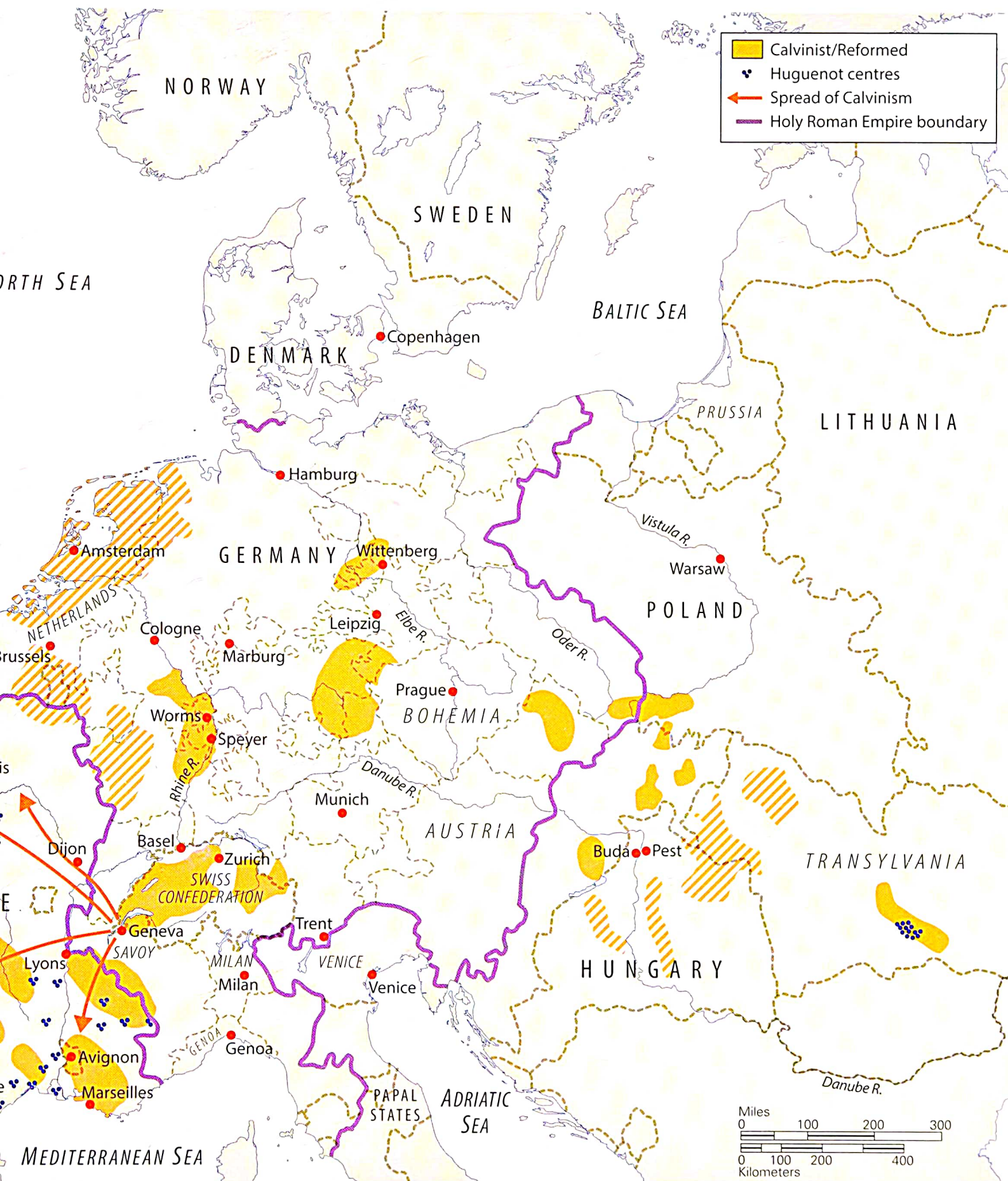
Calvinism also spread early to the Netherlands. Reform ministers first arrived in the 1550s and were supported by Protestant Huguenot preachers fleeing France. They made slow progress at first because they were fiercely opposed by the authorities. Calvinism was initially strongest in Antwerp, Ghent, and areas near Germany, from which it gradually spread northwards.

Calvinism was not even recognized as an option by the German princes in the Peace of Augsburg (1555), and was generally regarded with suspicion by the ruling elite. It first entered Germany via the Netherlands in the 1560s, developing into a popular movement

The Reformation Wall, Geneva: (left to right) Guillaume Farel, Jean Calvin, Theodore Beza, John Knox.



A map of the British Isles and Western Europe, showing the flight path of the RMS Titanic. The path is marked by a red line with arrows, starting from Southampton, England, and heading west across the Atlantic Ocean towards New York City, USA. Key locations labeled include Scotland, Ireland, Wales, England, and Spain. Specific cities marked with red dots are Edinburgh, London, Rennes, Nantes, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux. Blue dots represent other ships in the area.



For most of the fourteenth century French kings dominated the papacy and Paris theologians could claim intellectual leadership of the Western church. With the reduction of English power in France, French nationalism surged. From this time, the French king was known as *Rex Christianissimus* ('most Christian king'). Under the able leadership of Louis XI (r. 1461–83), France broke the dominant power of Burgundy.

Inheriting a strong, centralized monarchy, Francis I (r. 1515–47) concluded a treaty of perpetual peace with Switzerland, and signed a concordat with the papacy that brought the French church under his control. In return for guaranteed annates, the pope granted the king the appointment of bishops and abbots. Francis also reached a settlement with Henry VIII of England that freed him to wage war on the Emperor Charles V. This military threat distracted the Emperor, thus helping the spread of Protestantism.

French humanists

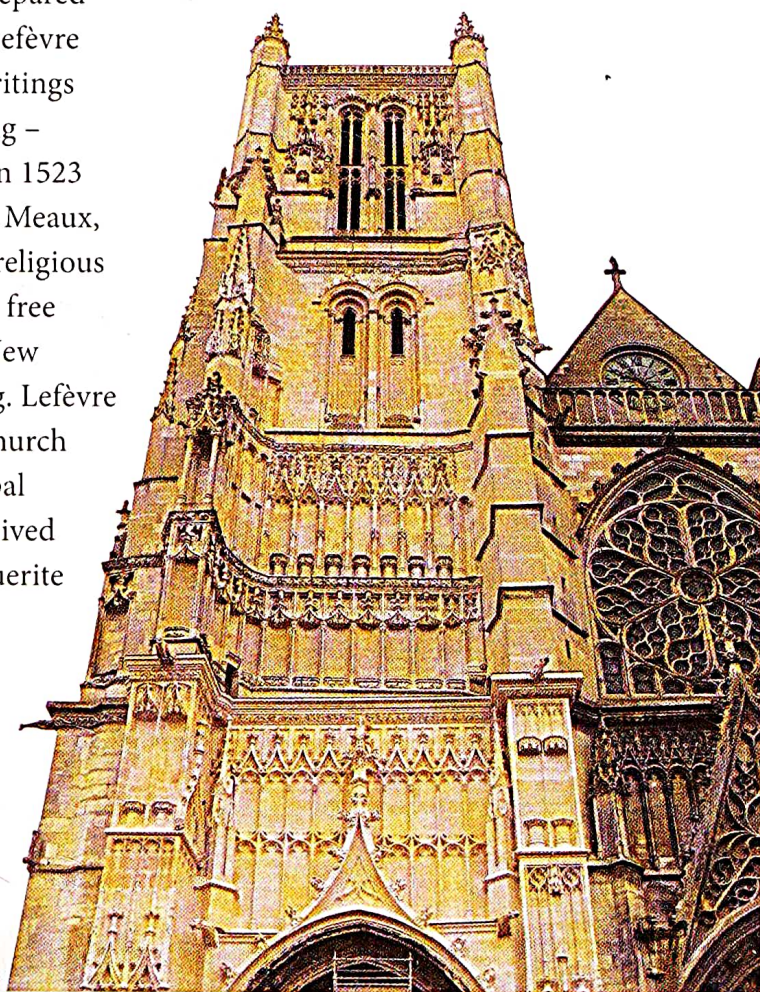
The road to reform in France was prepared by two learned humanists: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1536) – whose writings anticipated much of Luther's teaching – and Guillaume Budé (1467–1540). In 1523 Lefèvre was invited by the Bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet, to encourage religious revival in his diocese by distributing free copies of Lefèvre's own vernacular New Testament and by militant preaching. Lefèvre worked for reform within existing church structures and did not repudiate papal authority. This reforming group received support from the king's sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, herself a writer influenced by humanist thinking.

In February 1525 Francis I was captured by Charles V. His mother Louise became regent and her hostility to reform led Lefèvre and others flee into exile. A year later

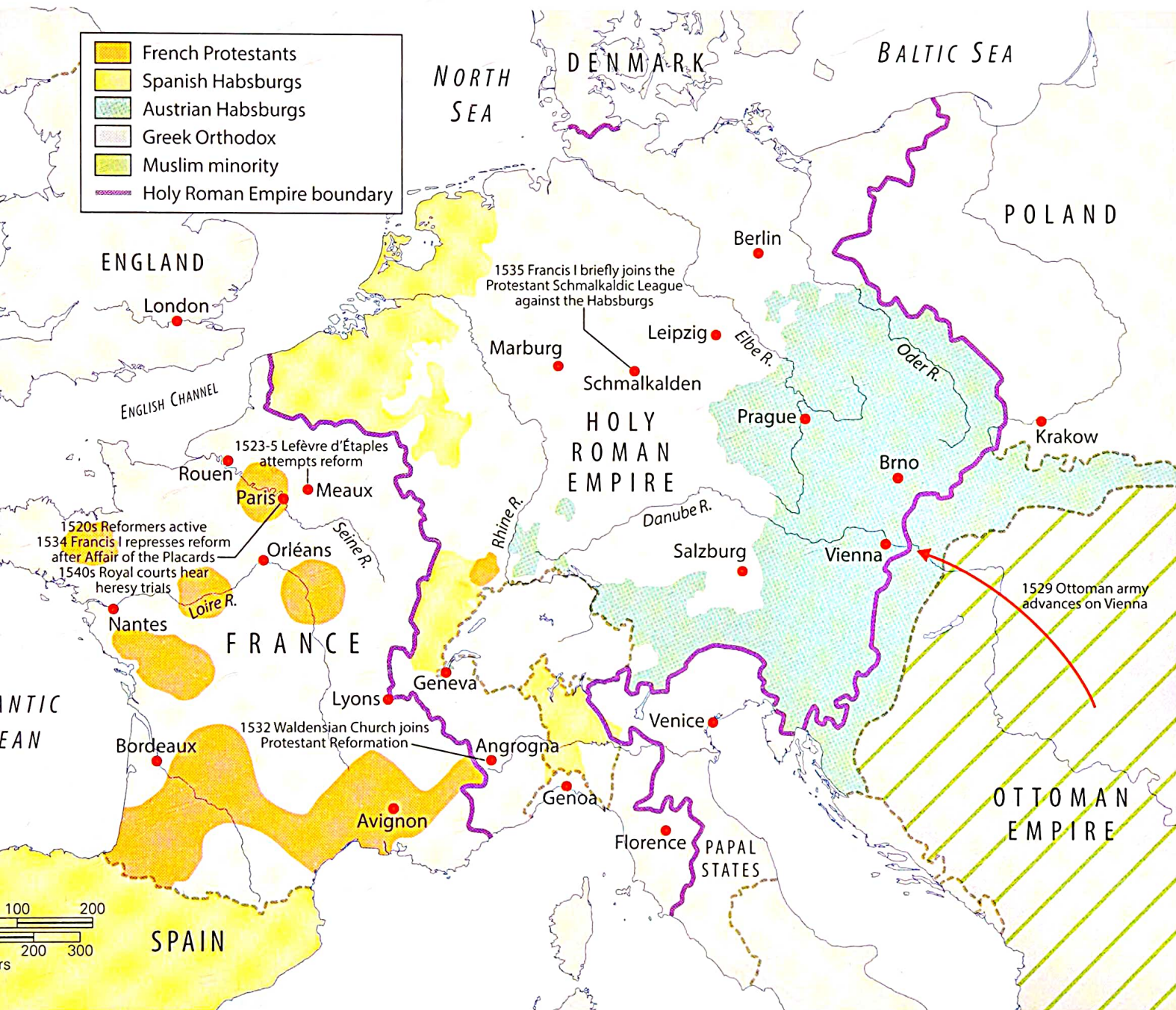
Francis was released and Lefèvre returned – but the reform experiment at Meaux was never restarted.

Affair of the placards

A crisis of reform in France came on 18 October 1534, when Parisians awoke to find 'placards' (broadsheets) displayed in public places attacking 'the horrible, great, and insufferable abuses of the papal Mass'. Those responsible were executed, and burnings and persecution followed. The *placard* was the work of a French pastor exiled at Neuchâtel; a network of reform influenced by Swiss



The Cathedral of Saint Etienne, Meaux, France.



Protestants existed in France. In 1533 John Calvin fled Paris as he was a known associate of Nicolas Cop, Rector of the university and an advocate of Reform.

The king's attitude to Reform now hardened and in 1540 the royal courts took over heresy trials from the more lenient church tribunals. Meanwhile many Reformers continued to work under the cover of conformity, a pattern pioneered by

Lefèvre. Many priests and friars preached Reforming sermons – sometimes to large crowds – and held private sessions for prayer or Bible study. They evaded prosecution by minimal conformity, continuing to hear confessions and celebrate Mass. Calvin fiercely opposed such occasional conformity, comparing it to the biblical Jewish leader Nicodemus, who met Christ under cover of darkness.

Between 1397 and 1523 the Union of Kalmar brought together the Scandinavian nations under a single monarch who ruled the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden (including Finland), and Norway (including Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands). In 1520 Gustav Vasa organized a successful revolt and became king of an independent Sweden, which under his dynasty became the strongest Baltic power.

Two brothers, Olaus and Laurentius Petri (Olof, 1493–1552 and Lars Persson, 1499–1573), both disciples of Luther, inaugurated religious reform in Sweden. Aided by Laurentius Andreae (Lars Andersson, c. 1470–1552), they brought the evangelical theology of Luther to the Swedish church. In 1527 the Reformation was established by law; church lands were secularized and bishops of the old church were incorporated into the new. Reform was completed at the Synod of Uppsala in 1593, when the Lutheran Augsburg Confession was adopted as the sole basis of faith.

Denmark

In 1500, the church owned roughly one-third of the land of Denmark. The new university of Copenhagen, founded in 1478, became an early centre of Reforming protest. In 1524 the exiled King Christian II commissioned a (much criticized) Danish version of the New Testament. Meanwhile Frederick I (r. 1524–33) pressed for church reform, appointing Reforming bishops and preachers. Danes such as Hans Tausen (1494–1561) and Jørgen Sadolin (c. 1490–1559), who had studied under Luther at Wittenberg, started to preach Lutheranism. There was a rapid defection of Catholics and in some places there was no preaching, or services were held only two or three times a year.

When Christian III (r. 1534–59) succeeded to the Danish throne, the transition to Protestantism was completed. At the Diet of Copenhagen (1536) he stripped the bishops of their property, transferring the church's wealth

to the state. He then turned for help to Luther, who in 1537 sent Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) to crown the king and appoint seven church superintendents. At the synods that followed, church ordinances were published and the Reformation recognized in Danish law. The University of Copenhagen was enlarged and revitalized, a new Protestant liturgy drawn up, a new translation of the Bible completed, and a modified version of the Augsburg Confession eventually adopted.

Norway

In 1537 Christian attempted to extend the Reformation to Norway – which remained under Danish rule – though with little popular support. Most bishops fled, and as the older clergy died they were replaced with Reforming ministers. In 1571 Jørgen Eriksson, the 'Norwegian Luther', was appointed Bishop of Stavanger; but not till three years after he died, in 1604, was a Lutheran church order formally established.

Iceland

Christian III also expelled the Roman Catholic bishops in Iceland and confiscated their property. His initial attempt to impose the new Danish ecclesiastical system there provoked a revolt but he eventually succeeded in establishing Reform. Through an Icelandic hymnal (1589) and first complete Icelandic Bible translation (1584), both created by Bishop Gudbrandur Thorlaksson (1541–1627), the Old Norse tongue was saved and the Reformation became popular.



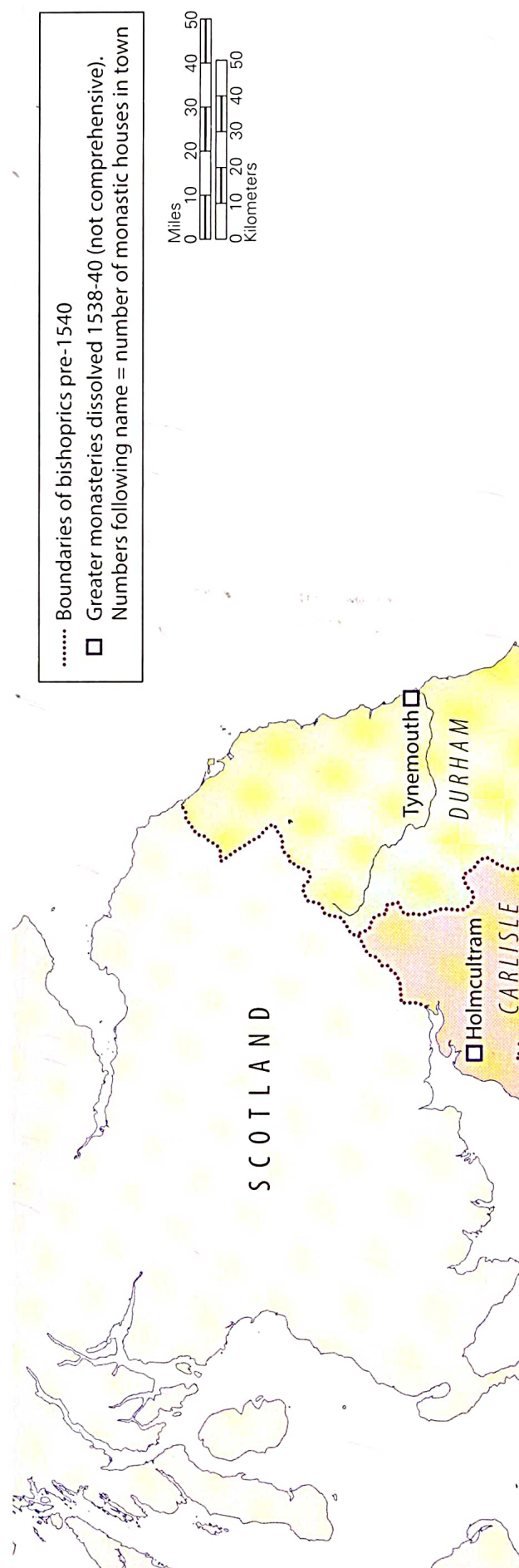
The greatest material change effected by Henry VIII's Reformation was the destruction of England's religious houses. In 1532 about 800 corporate religious foundations were standing England and Wales; by 1540 all had gone. Monasteries had represented half the church's assets and were deeply rooted in local communities. The revolution in landownership resulting from their dissolution was 'second only to that which followed the Norman Conquest' (Youings).

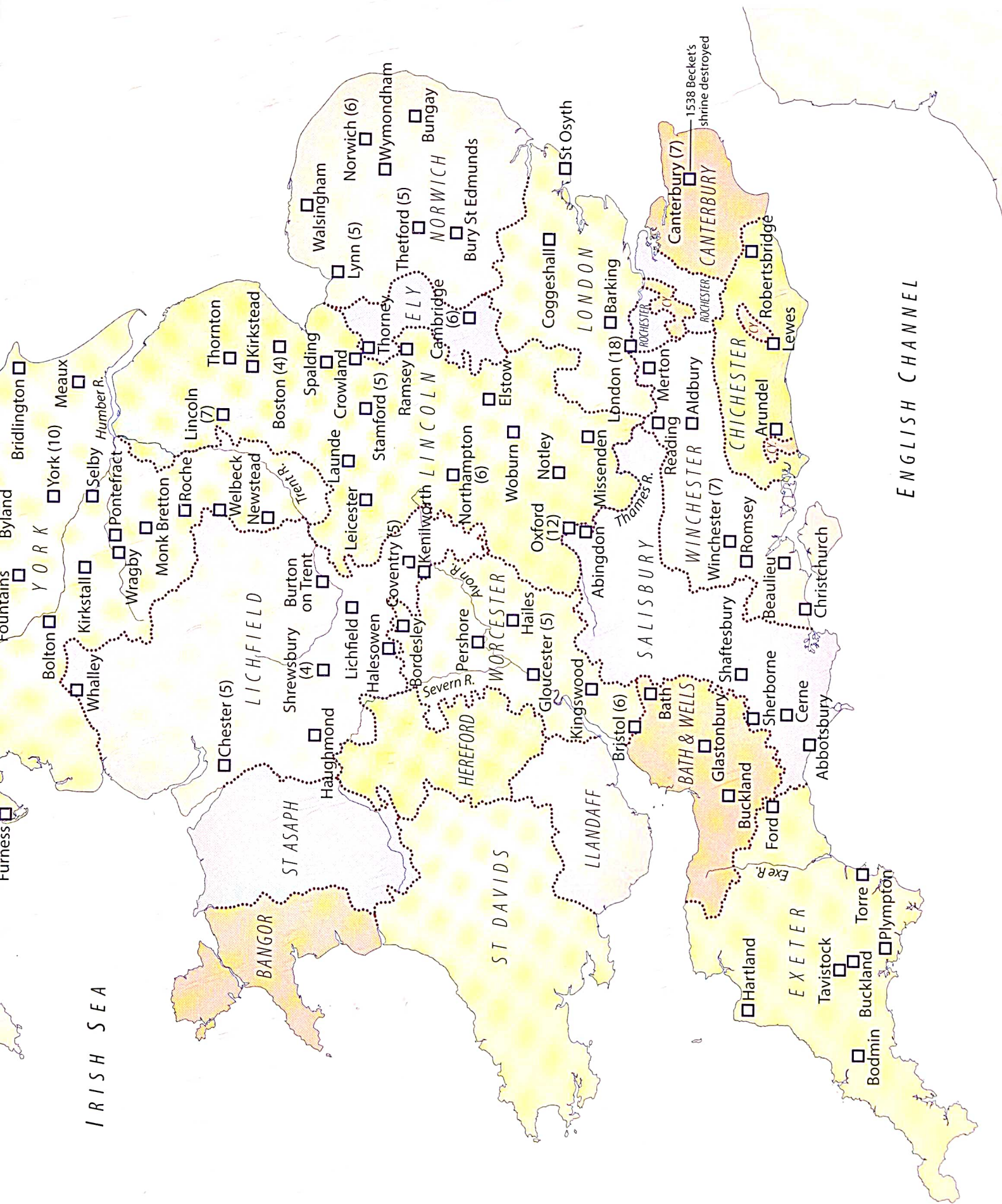
Henry was convinced the church had become wealthy at the crown's expense. In 1536, legislation was passed listing smaller, less viable, monasteries for closure and around half were dissolved. Monks from these houses were either given pensions or moved to larger houses. Stories of roaming hordes of homeless religious are a myth as are tales of hundreds of abbey servants thrown out of work: they continued as farm labourers when church estates passed to the crown. There was however considerable looting and the nobility and gentry competed to lease or buy monastic property.

The Pilgrimage of Grace transformed Henry VIII's attitude towards monasticism; after it he became completely hostile. From late 1537 the government began to pressurize religious houses to surrender – both those reprieved earlier and the larger abbeys. Waltham Abbey, Essex, the last to surrender, went down in April 1540. With no houses left to move to, the religious were pensioned off. The four orders of friars were also suppressed, along with the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Just six abbeys were salvaged to be subsequently refounded as cathedrals: Westminster Abbey, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Chester.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES

map 30





The Pilgrimage of Grace was the largest and most menacing of a succession of Tudor rebellions, although those taking part regarded it as protest not rebellion. During the summer of 1536 a series of radical alterations in religion occurred in England: clergy were required to know and do new things, treasures in parish churches appeared to be under threat, and smaller monasteries were being dissolved.

The coincidental presence in Lincolnshire of three sets of commissioners – one overseeing the dissolution of lesser monasteries, another a visitation to the clergy, and a third gathering gentry to deal with taxation – encouraged a riot in the town of Louth to grow rapidly into insurrection in much of the county and occupation of the city of Lincoln. Soon about 20,000 men were up in arms, although the movement quickly fizzled out.

Yorkshire

As things quietened in Lincolnshire, the movement crossed into Yorkshire, prompted by similar fears about the supposed threat to traditional religion. The lawyer Robert Aske (1500–37) invented the name ‘Pilgrimage of Grace’, declaring himself ‘chief captain,’

Ruins of Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire.

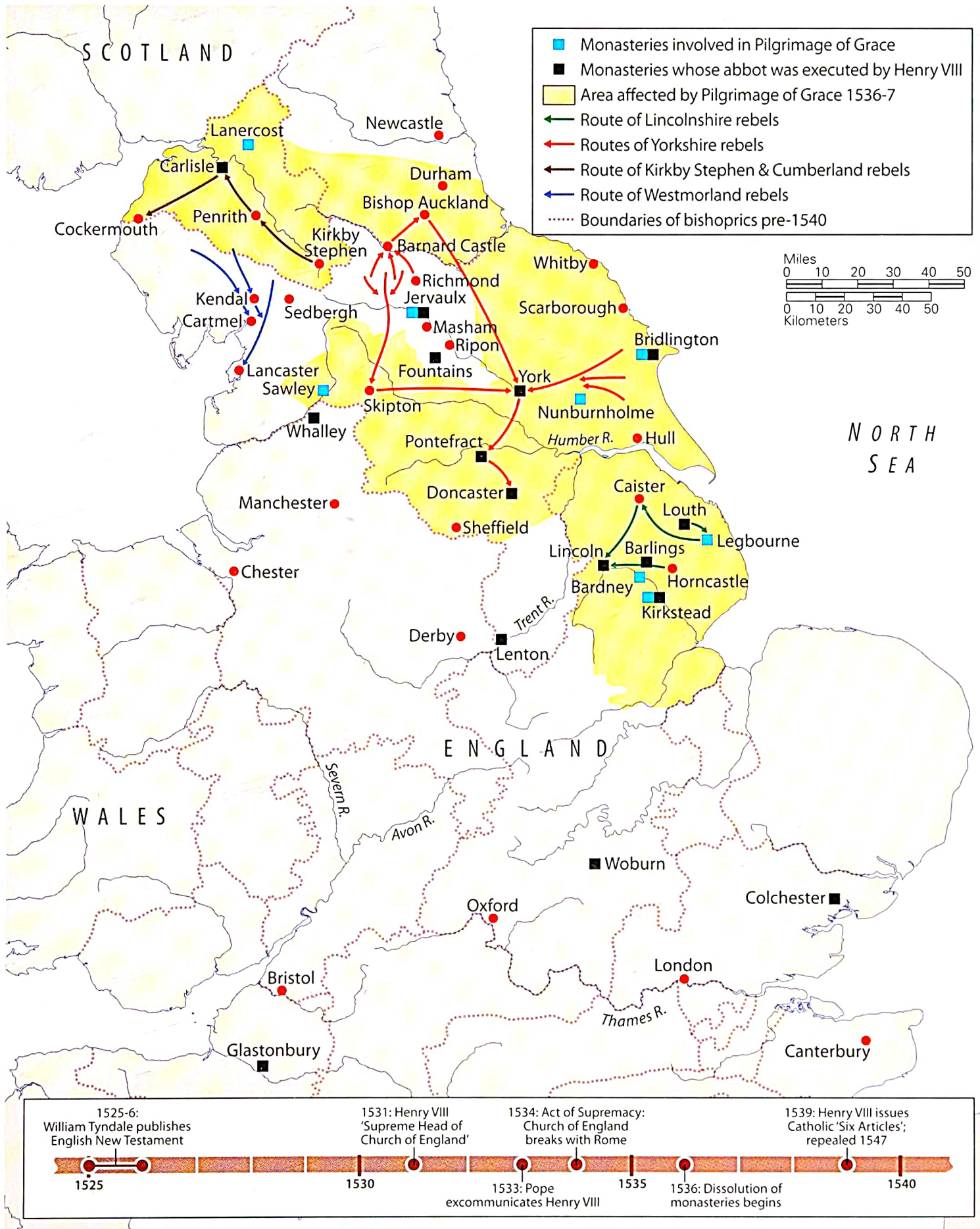


and defining it as a movement for the defence of the church and the removal of the king’s ‘heretical’ councillors, especially the Chancellor Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. The protesters marched with a badge displaying the five wounds of Christ. The Lincolnshire Rising and the Pilgrimage of Grace amounted to a huge northern demonstration opposing Henry’s policies.

Despite significant involvement of the gentry and some nobles, the main support came from the lower clergy, yeomen, and craftsmen – all commoners. As the disturbances spread north-westwards, resentment against landlords and their renting and leasing policies also grew. Soon the pilgrims had nine regional armies – perhaps 50,000 armed men – and held the whole of England north of the River Trent. The Duke of Norfolk managed to negotiate a truce, the Pilgrims began to disperse, and the gentry deposed Aske, regained control, and allowed individuals to make terms with the government.

Revenge

But Henry VIII was not interested in conciliation. He strung out discussions until he was in a position to launch his revenge. Abortive secondary episodes in 1537, led by the maverick Sir Francis Bigod, gave the king the excuse he needed to take reprisals. While the rank and file melted back into obscurity, Henry proceeded to execute the leaders of the Pilgrimage. Henry VIII was now able to continue as head of the church without let or hindrance.



The struggle between the old and the new lasted longer in England than elsewhere in Europe. As early as the thirteenth century an anti-papal, anti-clerical movement had developed, when Wyclif had fathered an evangelical protest movement. Early in the sixteenth century Luther's writings and English Bibles were smuggled into England. At first the Reform movement was Lutheran, but Reform soon became entangled with politics. In 1534 King Henry VIII proclaimed himself the Head of the Church of England, though his quarrel with the pope was not on religious grounds, but because the pope would not sanction Henry's desired divorce of Catherine of Aragon. Henry himself remained a Catholic: the pope entitled him 'Defender of the Faith' for a book he wrote opposing Luther in 1521, and in 1539 Henry issued the Six Articles, probably aiming to limit the progress of Reform. Henry now removed the authority of the pope and ended monasticism in England, while among some of his people a religious movement towards Reform was also occurring. The University of Cambridge was one centre of Reformation thinking and the appearance of Tyndale's English New Testament (1525) also aided the cause of Reform.

Under Edward VI (r. 1547–53) the Reformation moved sharply forwards, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, supported by Bishops Nicholas Ridley (c. 1500–55) and Hugh Latimer (c. 1487–1555). Several European Calvinist Reformers also contributed, notably Martin Bucer from Strasbourg, Peter Martyr Vermigli from Italy, who became professors at Oxford and Cambridge, and John a Lasco from Poland.

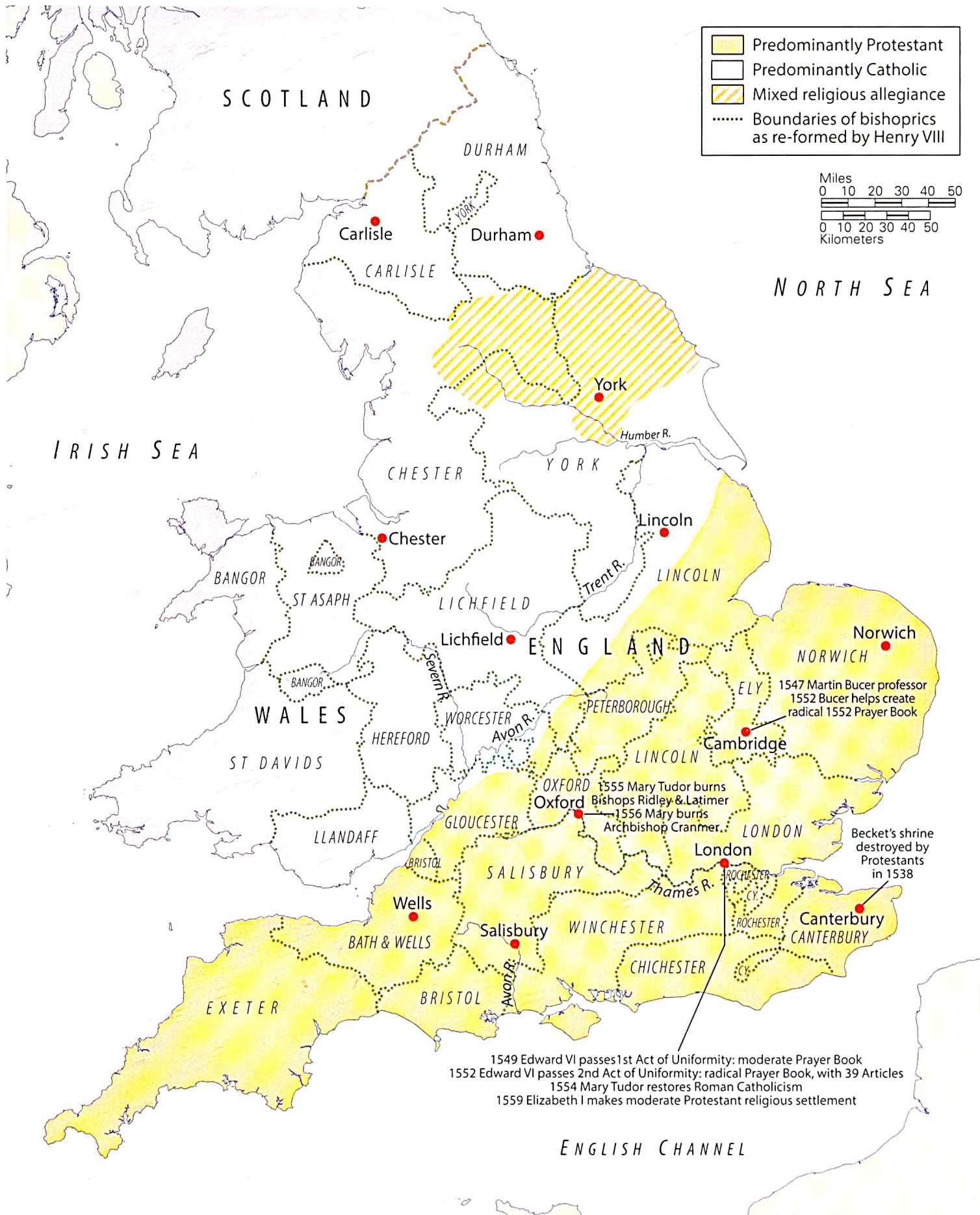
Mary Tudor

Following Edward's premature death, Henry's daughter Mary Tudor (r. 1553–58) attempted to restore Roman Catholicism and the authority of the pope to England, with the help of Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–58). But her inability to understand Protestantism actually did much to strengthen the movement by creating many martyrs. About 290 bishops and scholars – including Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley – and other men and women were burnt at the stake, many others fleeing to Europe.

Elizabeth I

Mary's sister Elizabeth restored and permanently established Protestantism in England during her long reign (r. 1558–1603). She faced considerable difficulties, including the threat of civil war, the theological and political opposition of the Catholic powers, the hostility of France and Spain, and doubts about her claim to the throne. Elizabeth replaced Catholic church leaders with Protestants, restored the church Articles and the Prayer Book of Edward VI, and took the title of 'supreme governor' – rather than head – of the Church of England, successfully locating a *via media* that has marked Anglicanism since that time.

As re-established by Elizabeth, the Anglican Church retained episcopal government and a set liturgy, offending many Calvinists, particularly refugees returning from Switzerland. Meanwhile Roman Catholics plotted and intrigued; every Catholic appeared a potential traitor since the pope had ordered them to overthrow Elizabeth.



Scotland was first awakened to Lutheranism by Patrick Hamilton (c. 1504–28), who had been attracted to Luther's writings as a student in Paris and later attended lectures at Wittenberg and the new university of Marburg. Charged in Scotland with heresy, Hamilton was burned at the stake. Many Protestant intellectuals now fled abroad, never to return. George Wishart (c. 1513–46) was martyred by the Scottish Catholic leader, Cardinal Beaton, who was later assassinated for his oppression of young reformers. Wishart's major contribution was his influence upon John Knox (c. 1514–72), who was to become leader of the Scottish Reformation.

Knox was taken prisoner by the French in 1547 and forced to serve as a galley slave. Upon his release, he played a part in English Reform as chaplain to Edward VI. During Mary Tudor's reign he fled to Geneva, where he was greatly influenced by Calvin.

In 1557 Scottish Protestants covenanted to bring about reform. Few of the population were Protestant, but this minority included important nobles such as the head of the Hamilton clan, and the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton. These 'Lords of the Congregation' now summoned Knox from exile. After he preached against idolatry in Perth, iconoclasm swept across the nation. Knox continued to attack the papacy and the Mass in fiery sermons at St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

John Knox

Urged on by Knox, the dissident nobles seized churches and forced the French Regent, Mary of Guise, to take refuge in Edinburgh Castle. Backed by English forces, the rebels succeeded in enforcing Reform. At the request of the Scottish Parliament, Knox drew up a Confession of Faith and Doctrine (1560, replaced in 1647 by the Westminster Confession), emphasizing evangelical doctrine and urging the necessity

of discipline. The Book of Discipline (1561) was followed by a new liturgy, the Book of Common Order (1564), and a translation of Calvin's Catechism. Knox had consolidated the Reformation in Scotland.

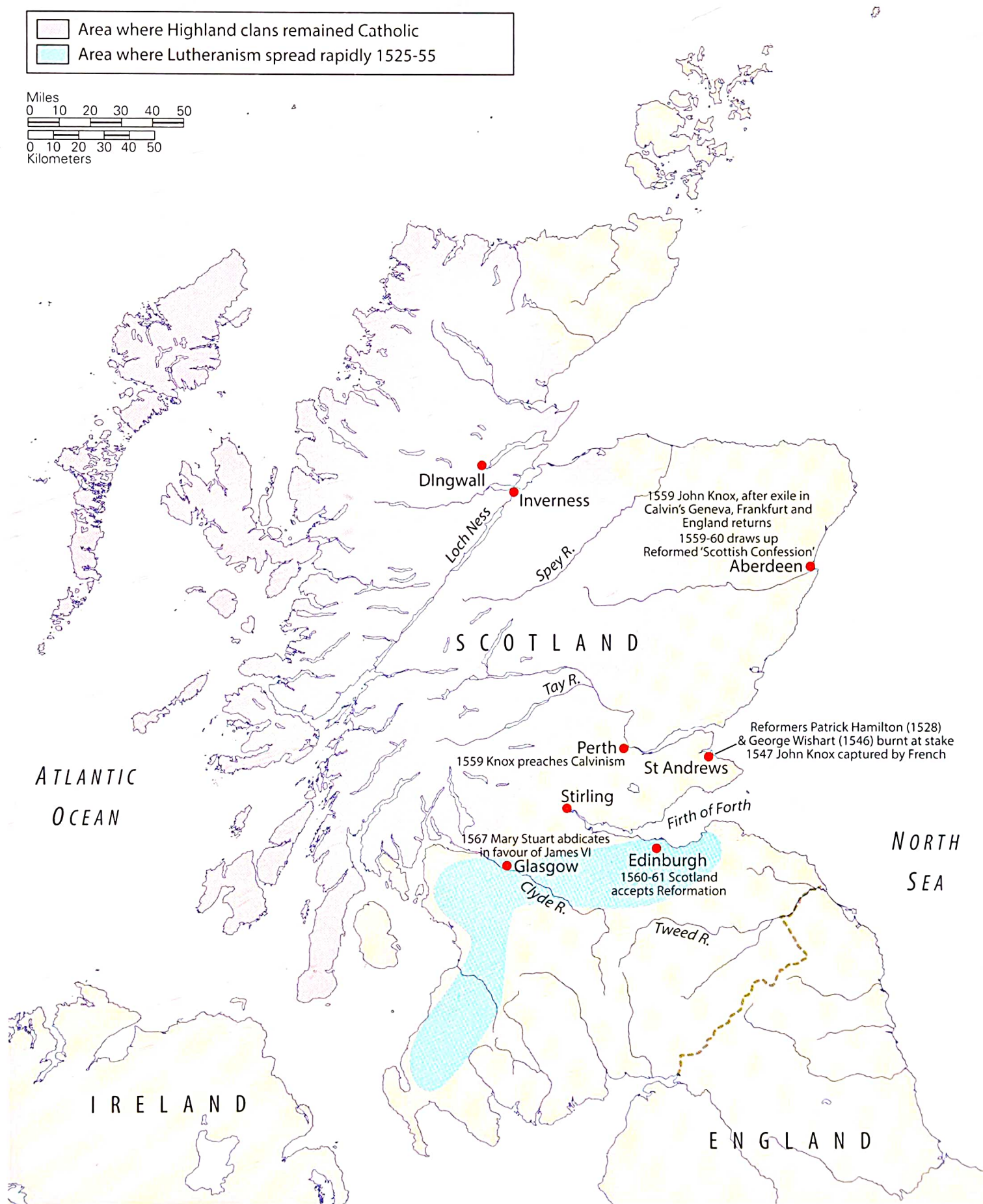
Mary Queen of Scots

In 1561 the unexpected return of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, re-ignited the religious issue. Mary had hoped to practise her Catholic faith in private while allowing Scotland to remain Protestant. Knox attacked Mary over her celebration of Mass at court and her dissolute entourage and personal life. Forced to abdicate in 1567, the queen finally lost Scotland for Roman Catholicism.

After the death of Knox, Protestant leadership passed to Andrew Melville (1545–1622), who became Principal of the University of Glasgow in 1574. Twice Moderator of the General Assembly, he strove to remove all traces of episcopacy in Scotland. Although Scotland had now embraced Presbyterian principles, for more than a century the Stuart monarchs continued to attempt to enforce episcopacy. Under royal pressure, pro-episcopal measures were adopted in 1584, but reversed in 1592. But James VI and his successors ultimately lost Scotland for the episcopal cause.

- Area where Highland clans remained Catholic
- Area where Lutheranism spread rapidly 1525-55

Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Kilometers
0 10 20 30 40 50



Poland had a strong tradition of anti-clericalism and of religious toleration. The Hussites had flourished in the west of the country in the fifteenth century and many Jews fled there from persecution in the west. In Lithuania there was even an Islamic Tatar population. But in 1500 the Roman Catholic Church remained dominant.

Reform first reached Poland in the 1520s when students from Wittenberg brought the message to Danzig and Krakow. It quickly gained popularity, mainly among German-speaking inhabitants of such major cities as Toruń and Elbląg. A Polish edition of Luther's *Small Catechism* was published in Königsberg in 1530.

The Duchy of Prussia, a Polish fief, emerged as key centre of reform, with a number of publishers issuing Bibles and catechisms in German, Polish, and Lithuanian. Lutheranism gained popularity particularly in the north.

Polish kings were either indifferent to Reform or believed religious disputes not to be royal business. Poland had a weak monarchy and the king lost further power as the nobility converted to Lutheranism. The king could do little without the cooperation of the Polish diet (*Sjem*), which was now dominated by reformist princes. In 1555 a diet suspended the jurisdiction of church courts, thereby giving legal recognition to Protestantism.

Calvinism

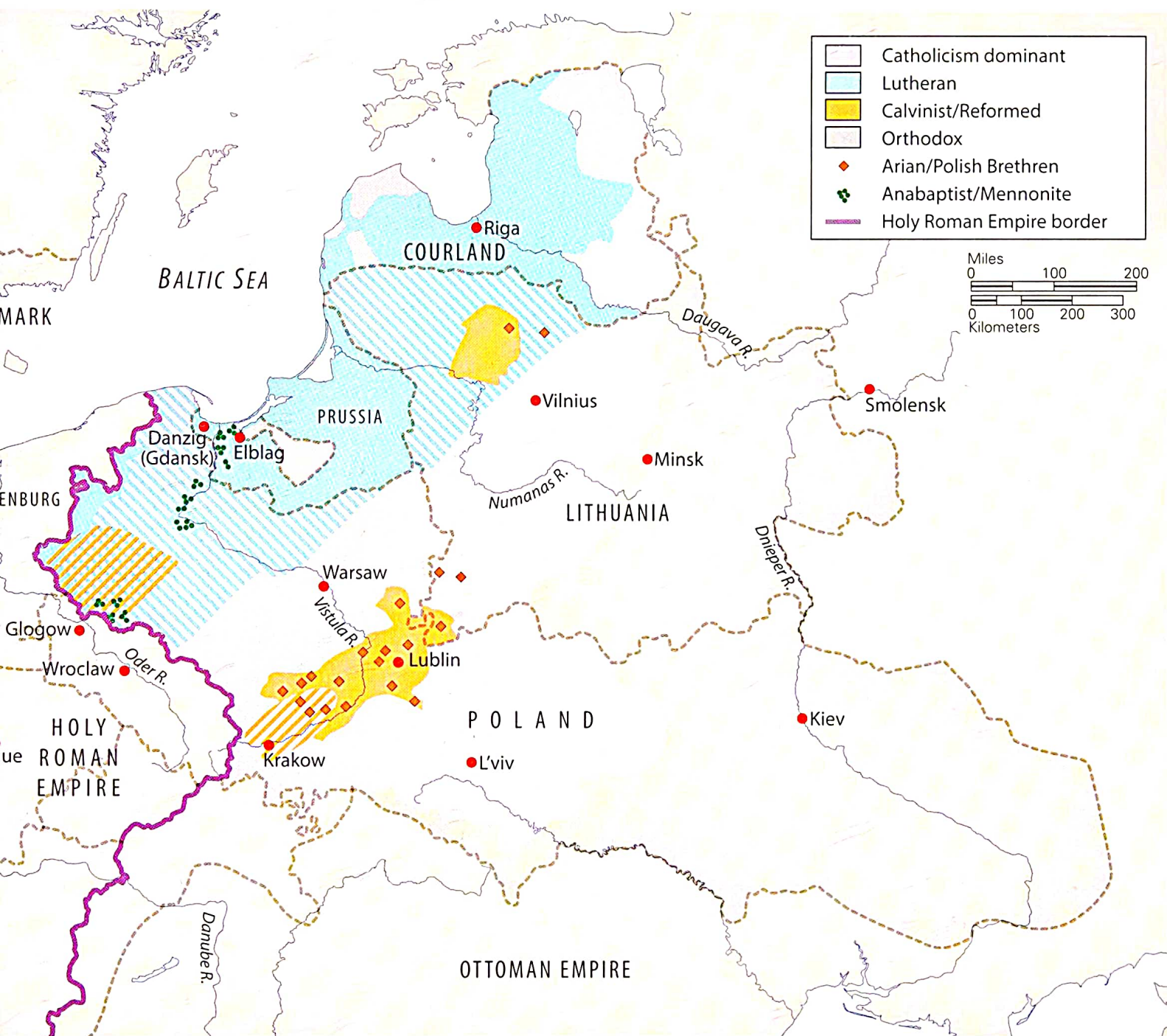
Calvinism proved particularly attractive to the nobility, mainly in Lesser Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Sigismund II Augustus (r. 1548–72) was a friend of the Reformation and corresponded with Calvin. In 1563, the Brest Bible, the first complete Bible in Polish, was published. The most distinguished Polish theologian was the Calvinist John a Lasco (1499–1560), who later moved to England and helped shape the Reformation during the reign of Edward VI.

Poland also attracted other Protestant groupings, such as the Mennonites and Czech Brethren, the latter settling mainly in Greater Poland, around Leszno. A further reform group, the Polish Brethren, appeared in 1565, led among others by Fausto Sozzini (Faustus Socinus, 1539–1604), who denied the Trinity and the pre-existence of Christ. (In the seventeenth century 'Socinianism' was used as a pejorative term for Unitarians and other dissenters.) Other leading Polish Protestants included Mikołaj Rej (1505–69), 'father of Polish literature'; Marcin Czechowic (c. 1532–1613), a Socinian theologian; Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (Andreas Fricius Modrevius, c. 1503–72), 'Father of Polish democracy'; and Symon Budny (c. 1530–93), a leader of the Polish Brethren.

Concord of Sandomir

In 1570 a general understanding was reached between Lutherans and Calvinists, expressed in the Concord of Sandomir, but this was marred by dissension over Socinianism. The Compact of Warsaw (1573) granted religious liberty to all, but this brief period of toleration ended under Sigismund III Vasa (r. 1587–1632).

Meanwhile neither the peasantry nor the poor had ever abandoned Catholicism. With the nobility becoming Protestant, the peasants and lesser nobility – who opposed the greater nobility and viewed the king as their ally – took the opposite religious viewpoint. Even where Protestantism was strong, a significant portion of the population remained Catholic.



Part 3

Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation

Go forth and set the
world on fire.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA



The situation within Western Europe had changed markedly by the time of the signing of the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which showed no real loss of land by the Lutherans, but a significant gain when compared with 1529.

In 1546 Charles V finally had the opportunity to move against the Lutherans, as had been his intention as far back as the Diet of Worms (1521). His long absence from Germany, caused by the revolt in Spain in the early 1520s and the threat from Francis I of France and Suleiman the Magnificent, was of huge advantage to the Reformation.

The ensuing Schmalkaldic War (1546–47) led to an attempt to settle the religious issues without a church council. This compromise – called an Interim – was acceptable to neither Protestants nor Catholics, and only the presence of Spanish occupation troops in northern Europe kept it in effect. Revolt, or the so-called War of Liberation, followed in which Maurice, Elector of Saxony, changed

sides, Henry II of France assisted against the Emperor, and Charles himself, having briefly enjoyed peace and almost universal victory, was forced to flee for safety through the snow-swept Alps.

Once Martin Luther had passed from the scene, a period of bitter theological warfare occurred within Protestantism. There was controversy over such matters as the difference between justification and sanctification; which doctrine was essential or non-essential; faith and works; and the nature of the ‘real presence’ at the Eucharist. This is the period of ‘confessionalization’, when Lutheranism developed a set system of beliefs and categories, defining it as a distinctive denomination or dogma – a

development Luther had both foreseen and lamented. The *Book of Concord*, which sets out what we now understand as Lutheranism, was published in 1580. It included Melancthon’s Augsburg Confession and Augsburg Apology, Luther’s two catechisms, the Schmalkaldic Articles drawn up in 1537, and the Formula of Concord. The dogmatism of some of the extreme Lutheran theologians now drove many people over to the Reformed or Calvinist church. Meanwhile the Reformed Christians in Germany adopted the *Heidelberg Confession* (1563) as their statement of faith.



Emperor Charles V.



It has often been implied that the divide between the reforming Lutherans and Calvinists and the Church of Rome quickly became so wide and deep as to be unbridgeable. In fact there remained strong reforming pressures and groups within the Roman Catholic Church, often influenced by Humanist learning and a search for spirituality and renewal. A number of leaders in the Roman church were exploring ideas not dissimilar to those of Luther and the Protestant reformers, and many conferences and debates were held attempting to resolve differences and re-unite the church. Italy itself came much closer to turning Protestant than has usually been imagined.

After the excesses and corruption of some of the Renaissance popes, Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49) began to take steps to correct abuses and bring about renewal in the Roman Catholic Church. He appointed reformers to the College of Cardinals, set up a papal reform commission, and in 1545 convened the Council of Trent. Among the new cardinals created were Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542), Gian Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV, 1476–1559), Reginald Pole (1500–58), Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547), Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), and Jean du Bellay (c. 1493–1567). The papal reform commission that Paul appointed issued a formal report in 1537, and on its recommendation he reformed the papal bureaucracy, ordered an end to taking money for spiritual favours, and forbade the buying and selling of church appointments.

The Council of Trent

Paul III's most significant action was to call an ecumenical church council to deal with reform and the growing threat of Protestantism. As its venue he named the city of Trent (Trentino), just inside the area of the Italian peninsula ruled by the Emperor. His choice offended the French, who sent only a handful of church leaders to the council.

Delayed by the continuing conflict between Charles V and Francis I, the council came too late to re-unite Christian Europe; it could only reform, shore up, and define the polarization on the Roman Catholic side. For part of the period of the council's gestation and deliberations, the

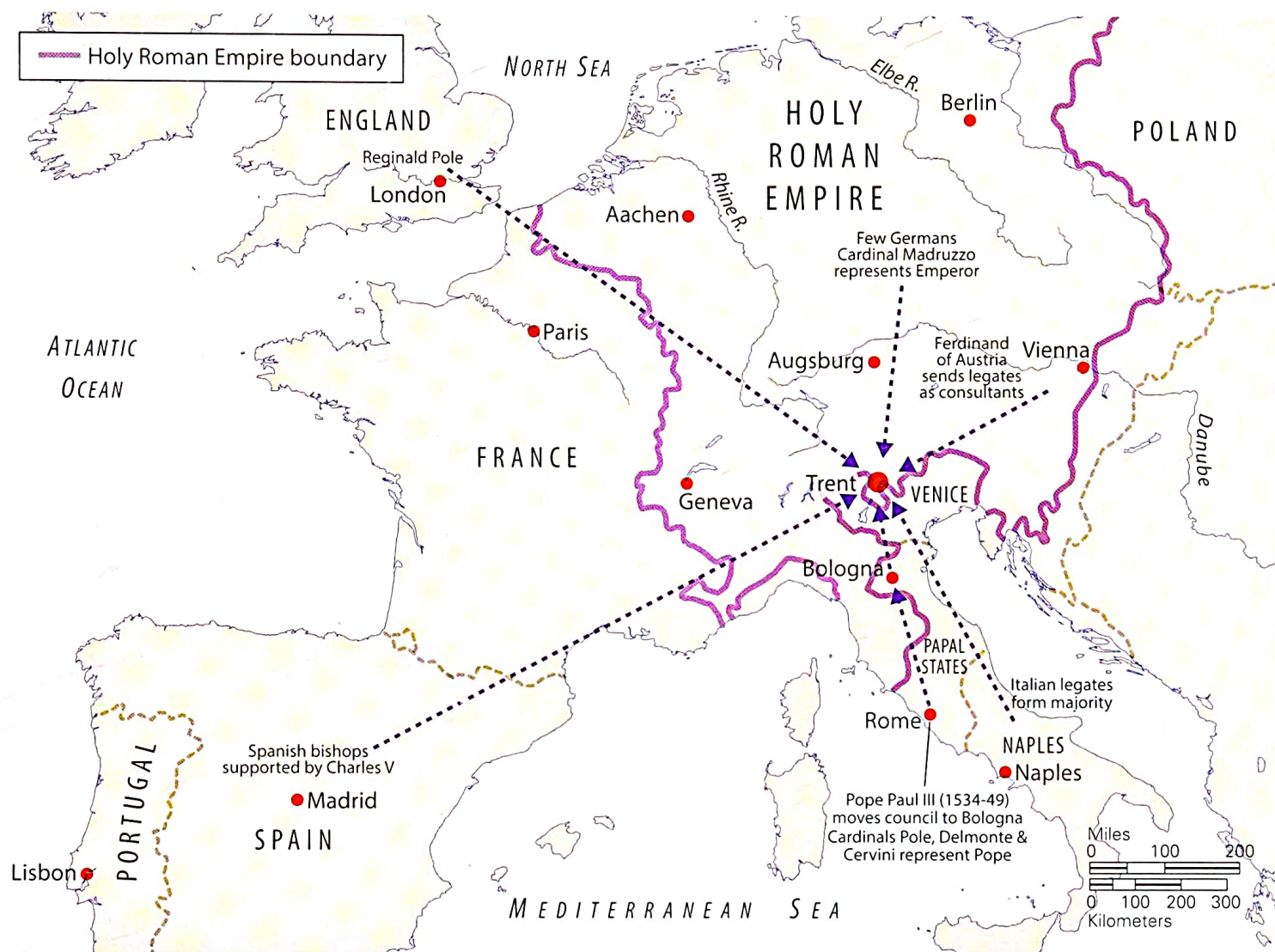
pope was formally at war with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, or with his son, Philip II of Spain. By the time it convened, Lutheranism was already an organized body of doctrine, Strasbourg and Hesse were decided on their religious path, and Calvin well into his second period in Geneva.

Trent I

The council met in three main sessions: 1545–47, 1551–52, and 1562–63. It was not a continuous meeting, but in effect three separate gatherings attended by three different, but overlapping, groups of representatives of the Roman Church. Attendance was scanty and irregular for such a significant project, and on occasion feelings ran so high that physical fights broke out between delegates.

The first session opened with only four archbishops, twenty bishops, four generals of monastic orders, and a few theologians present – and without the lay princes to whom the Reformers looked for leadership. Some Catholic Humanist reformers attended – such as Reginald Pole – some of whom Protestants such as Bucer and Melanchthon had worked with previously at re-union meetings in 1540–41.

The Council's method of voting gave the pro-papal Italian bloc control. There was agreement that the Bible and tradition are equally valid sources of truth; the church alone can interpret the Bible authoritatively; and that Jerome's translation, the Vulgate, was normative. This made reconciliation



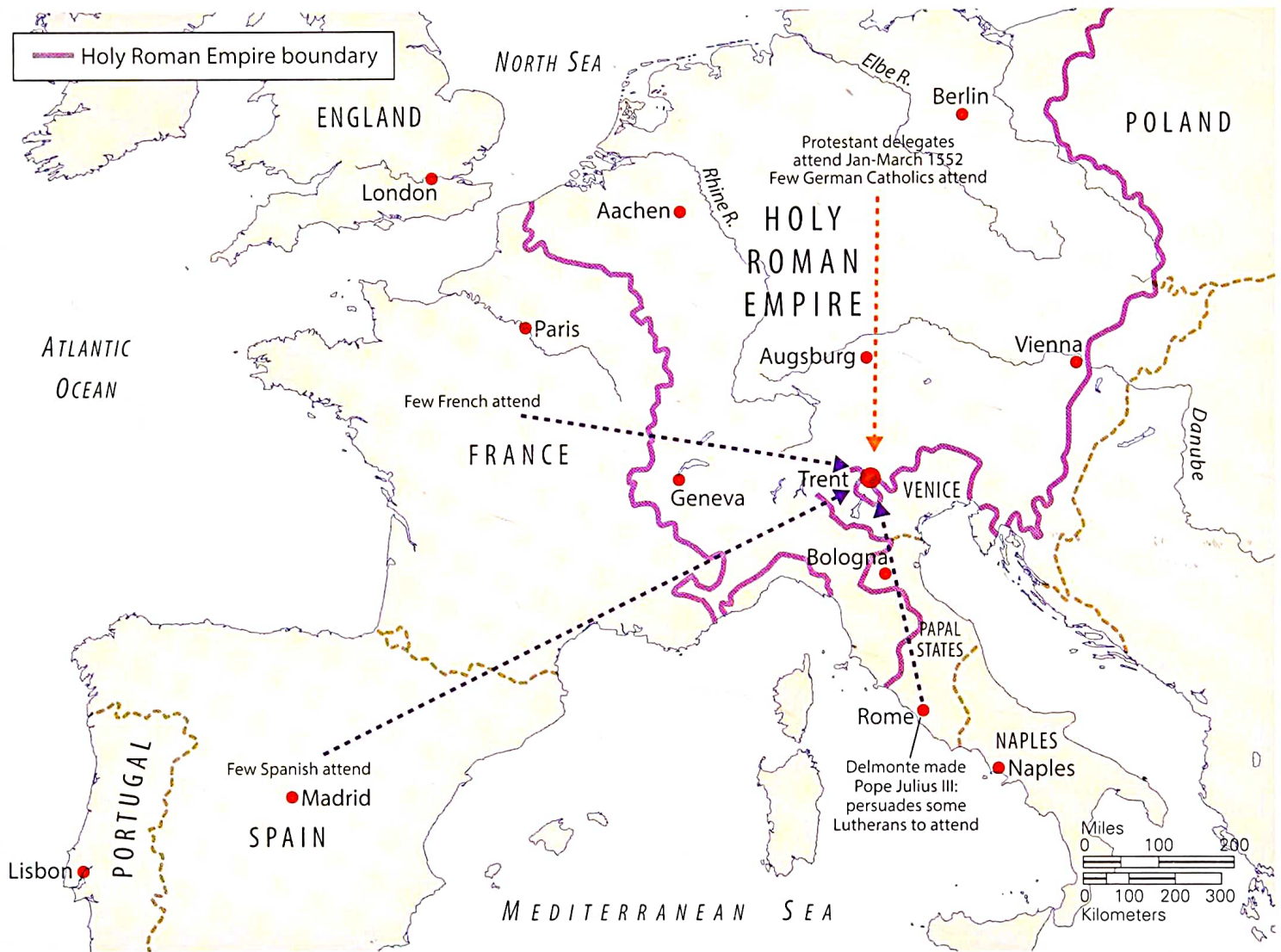
with Protestants impossible, since the Reformers asserted the primacy of the Bible, and the preacher's responsibility to interpret Scripture from the original texts. Decrees on justification, original sin, and the sacraments all strengthened the barrier between the churches.

Trent II

The largest number of delegates to attend the second session of the Council was fifty-nine. The Emperor held back the German bishops from this session until the pope agreed to allow Protestants to attend. Even then, the pope did not agree to the Emperor's demand that the Protestants be allowed to vote. As a result, no leading Lutheran theologians,

Reformed, or Calvinists came. However three delegations of Protestants arrived in late 1551, from Brandenburg, Württemberg, and Strasbourg, joined by representatives of Maurice of Saxony in 1552.

These Protestants called unsuccessfully for the re-opening of discussion on earlier council decisions. They also attempted to get the council to re-affirm the supremacy of a church General Council over the pope, as had been agreed at the Council of Basel (1431–49). Reckoning nothing would be gained by staying, the Protestants departed in March 1552. The inability or unwillingness of the two sides to reach any understanding illustrates the gulf between them.



With little participation from France or Spain, and dominated by the Italian faction, the council condemned Calvinist, Zwinglian, and Lutheran views and reaffirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation.

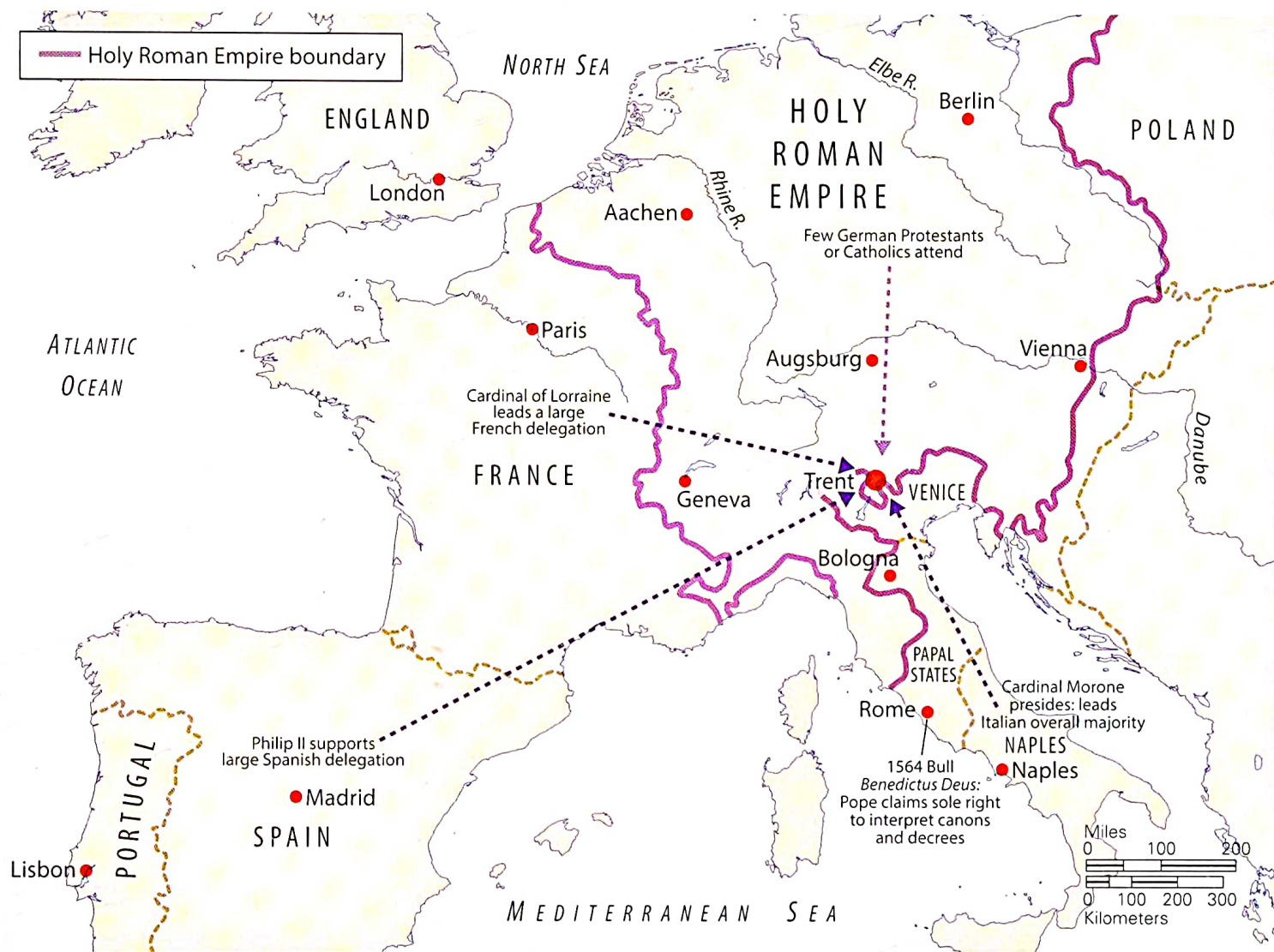
Trent III

The Council did not meet at all during the papacy of the virulently anti-Protestant Paul IV (r. 1555–59), and the Jesuits dominated its third and final session. Present were two influential members of the Society of Jesus, Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmerón.

This session was the best attended, with as many as 255 at one of its meetings, and the most productive. Substantial delegations

from Spain and France appeared, the latter sometimes at cross-purposes with the Italians. The Spanish were doctrinal hardliners, sensitive to the wishes of Charles V, who was also King Charles I of Spain.

A number of issues debated in earlier sessions were resolved. Medieval orthodoxy was reaffirmed for most of the doctrines under dispute in the Reformation. Transubstantiation, and established medieval practices connected with the Mass were all upheld. The seven sacraments were insisted upon, and celibacy of the clergy, the existence of purgatory, and indulgences all reaffirmed. However, the post of indulgence-seller was abolished and abuses linked to the



distribution of indulgences were condemned. The Council also increased papal authority by giving the pope the power to enforce the decrees of the council, and requiring church officials to promise him obedience. Important reforming measures were also passed on education, providing for the improved training of priests and for control of their conduct.

After the Council adjourned, its actions were confirmed and issued by Pope Pius IV in January 1564, along with his decisions on several issues that the Council had left unsettled. Scholastic-style theological definitions – with curses on anyone who did not agree with them – killed any

lingering Protestant hopes that church unity might be restored.

Trent ruled out any possibility of Christian reconciliation in the immediate future. But by re-elevating the papacy, by improving church organization, by dealing with the most glaring abuses pointed out by Protestant Reformers, and by clarifying doctrine and dogma, the Council of Trent gave the Church of Rome a clear position to uphold over the following centuries. The work of Trent stood the church in good stead during the wars of religion and the period of missionary expansion that lay ahead, providing a sense of renewed purpose and recovered morale.

Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491–1556), founder and leader of the Society of Jesus, is one of the most dramatic and influential figures in Christian history. He combined the spirituality of monasticism with the Crusaders' tradition of heroism in a disciplined programme for nurturing the individual soul and mind, and possessed a genius for charismatic and clear-headed leadership.

A Spanish nobleman, Ignatius was born in 1491 at the castle of Loyola, near the Pyrenees. He became a professional soldier, but in 1521 a leg wound cut short his military career. While recovering, he resolved to become a devoted follower of Jesus. Whereas Luther found peace by rejecting the traditions of the medieval church in favour of the basics of primitive Christianity, Loyola found peace by rededicating himself to the conventions of the medieval church.

Spiritual Exercises

Loyola travelled to the Montserrat Monastery, where he took monastic vows and hung up his arms in the chapel of the 'Black Madonna'. After temptations and agonies of soul that parallel Luther's – he spent a whole year (1522–23) in prayer and meditation – he was given Christian assurance in visions and trances. He worked on the first edition of his manual of self-discipline, *Spiritual Exercises*, and then made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His book, with its powerful appeal to the imagination and emphasis on obedience to Christ and to the Church of Rome, provided the

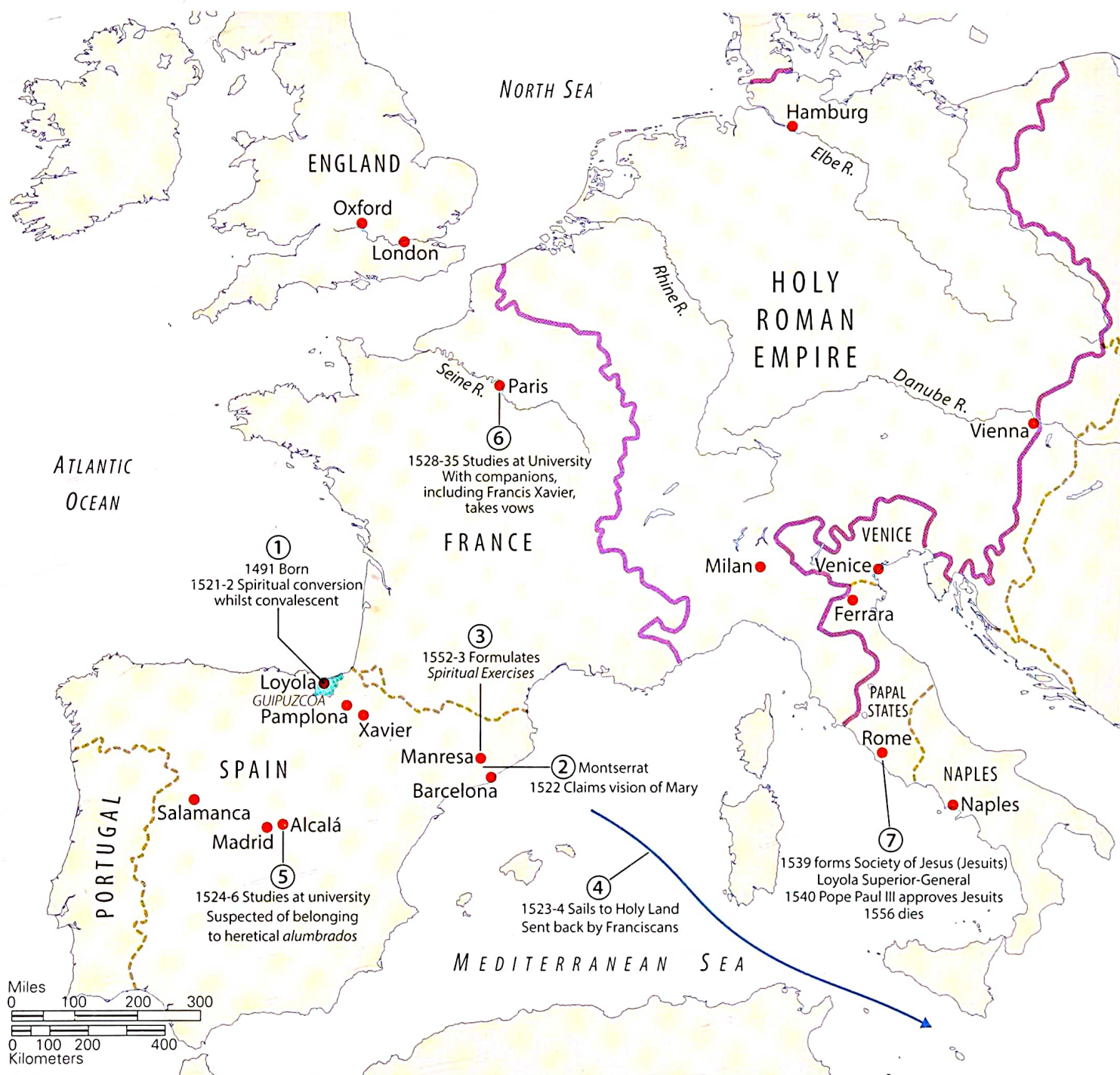
cornerstone for the new ascetic order that Loyola founded.

Society of Jesus

Between 1524 and 1534 Loyola studied at Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris, as he prepared to serve God. On 15 August 1534 he and six friends vowed to practise poverty, chastity, and celibacy, and to devote the rest of their lives to mission, initiating the 'Society of Jesus', popularly known as the Jesuits. They

Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491–1556).





wanted to secure papal blessing to travel to the Holy Land, but this proved impossible as the Emperor, the pope, and Venice were all involved in attempting to break up an alliance between Francis I and Suleiman I.

In 1540 the new order received written authorization from Paul III and set out to

accomplish its mission to carry the gospel to the peoples of newly discovered continents. The Jesuits regarded themselves as a new spiritual élite, at the pope's disposal to use however he thought appropriate for spreading the 'true church'. Absolute, unquestioning, military-style, obedience became its hallmark.

When war between Venice and the Turks prevented their passage to Palestine, Ignatius Loyola and his six disciples began to work in north Italian cities. They gathered new recruits, sought direction from Pope Paul III, and elected Loyola as their general. In addition to the traditional vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Jesuits insisted on an oath of absolute obedience to the pope. Every member of the Society was to obey the pope and the general of the order as unquestioningly 'as a corpse'.

The purpose of the society was to propagate the faith by every means at their disposal. Recruits had to be healthy, intelligent, and eloquent; no one of bad character or with unorthodox beliefs was admitted. The new order was highly centralized: its leaders were all appointed by the general, who was himself elected for life. It had no religious uniform, no bodily penances or fasts, and no choral recitation of the daily liturgy, which gave its members great flexibility compared with other orders, allowing them to become men of action. The Jesuit was expected to cultivate an inner life based on meditation and Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.

Although Loyola valued quality over quantity, the order grew rapidly, especially attracting the younger sons of noble families. When the founder died in 1556, there were already more than 1,500 Jesuits, mainly in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, but also in France, Germany, the Low Countries, India, Brazil, Japan, Africa, and almost every other country in Europe.

Three tasks

The Jesuits' work focussed on three main tasks: education, counteracting Protestantism, and missionary expansion into new areas. Education quickly became a major emphasis; within a decade the Jesuits had established a dozen colleges. Their schools soon became celebrated for their high standards and attainments, and many of the élite were won to Roman Catholicism by this means. A familiar Jesuit saying ran: 'Give me a child until he is

seven and he will remain a Catholic the rest of his life.'

Education was based on the *Plan of Studies* of 1599, which purified and simplified Renaissance Humanism. Philosophy in Jesuit schools generally followed Aristotle, while theology was adapted from Thomas Aquinas, for example in the system drawn up by Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), who taught at Alcalá and Coimbra.

Loyola did not found the Jesuits in order to combat Protestantism, but during the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth this increasingly became a Jesuit goal. In France, the Low Countries, southern Germany, and particularly in eastern Europe, the Jesuits led the counter-attack against Protestants. Using a variety of means, they recaptured large areas for the Church of Rome, earning a reputation as 'the feared and formidable storm-troops of the Counter Reformation' (Hillerbrand). Only in England did their campaign fail.

Several Jesuits served as papal representatives, or legates, in negotiations to tie countries such as Ireland, Sweden, and Russia more firmly to Rome. Other Jesuits served as court preacher or confessor to the Emperor, the kings of France and Poland, and the dukes of Bavaria. Peter Canisius (1521–97) from Nijmegen, in the Low Countries, an able preacher, apologist, and diplomat, became the most successful adversary of the Reformation in Germany and Poland. Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) from Montepulciano, Tuscany, wrote catechisms and anti-Protestant works of theology that remained influential for centuries.



Francis Xavier

The courageous Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–52) towered above his peers as the ‘apostle to the Indies and to Japan’. Xavier was born into the Spanish nobility in Navarre, Spain. In 1525, he went to study at the University of Paris, where he became one of the founding members of the Society of Jesus. When John III of Portugal asked the Jesuits for missionaries for his empire, Xavier responded, arriving in Goa, India, in May 1542. Admired for his ability to live and work alongside the poor, Francis soon moved on to Sri Lanka, the Molucca Islands, the Banda Islands, and the Malay Peninsula, preaching and baptizing wherever he went.

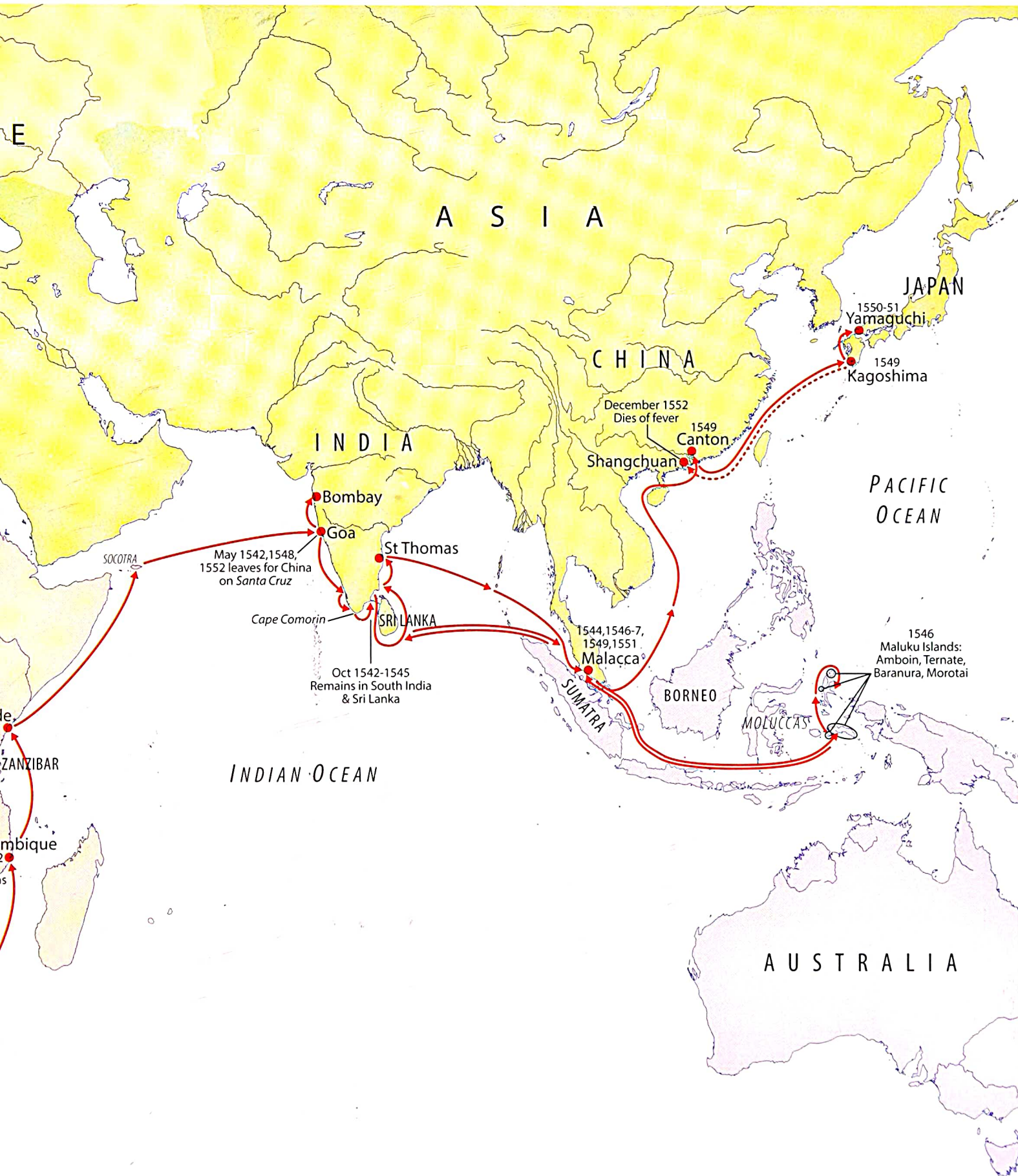
In August 1549, Xavier landed at Kagoshima, Japan, and – as in his previous missions – adapted to local mores to attract converts to establish a Christian community. He then sailed to Shangchuan (‘St John’s’) Island, near Canton, but was unable to reach the mainland as it was closed to foreigners. Before Xavier could gain entry into China, fever incapacitated him, and in 1552 he died, aged only forty-six.

Statue of Francis Xavier and St Paul’s Church, Malacca.



THE TRAVELS OF FRANCIS XAVIER





Following Pope Alexander VI's line of demarcation, the Portuguese colonized Brazil while the remainder of Latin America fell within the Spanish sphere of influence.

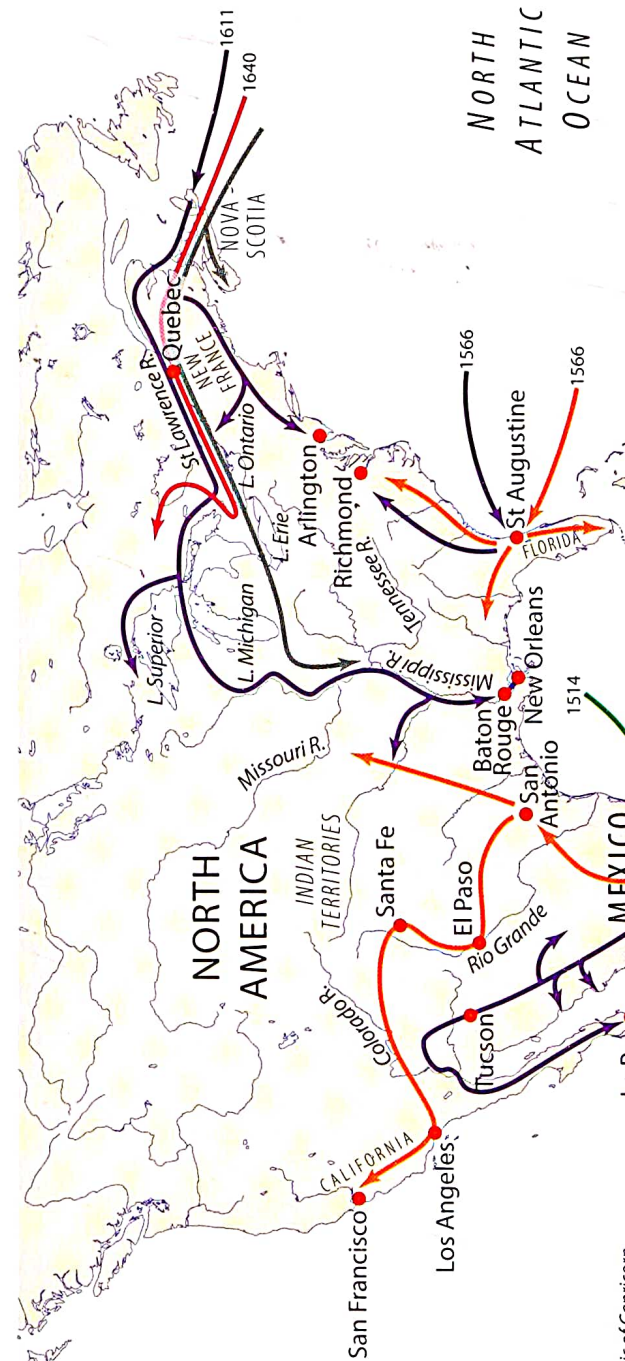
Columbus landed in the West Indies in the same year that the Spanish drove the Moors out of their last stronghold in Spain, and his companions brought the same crusading zeal to the New World. Combining a desire for wealth and military success with dedication to Christian mission, they created a huge Spanish empire in the Americas. Although the men who led Spain's conquest of Latin America were often cruel and used questionable means to achieve their objectives, they saw themselves as fulfilling a mission to liberate the natives from superstitious practices. Hernán Cortes (1485–1547), who led the conquest of Mexico, attended Mass daily, carried a statue of the Virgin Mary with him wherever he went, and displayed the cross on the flag he carried.

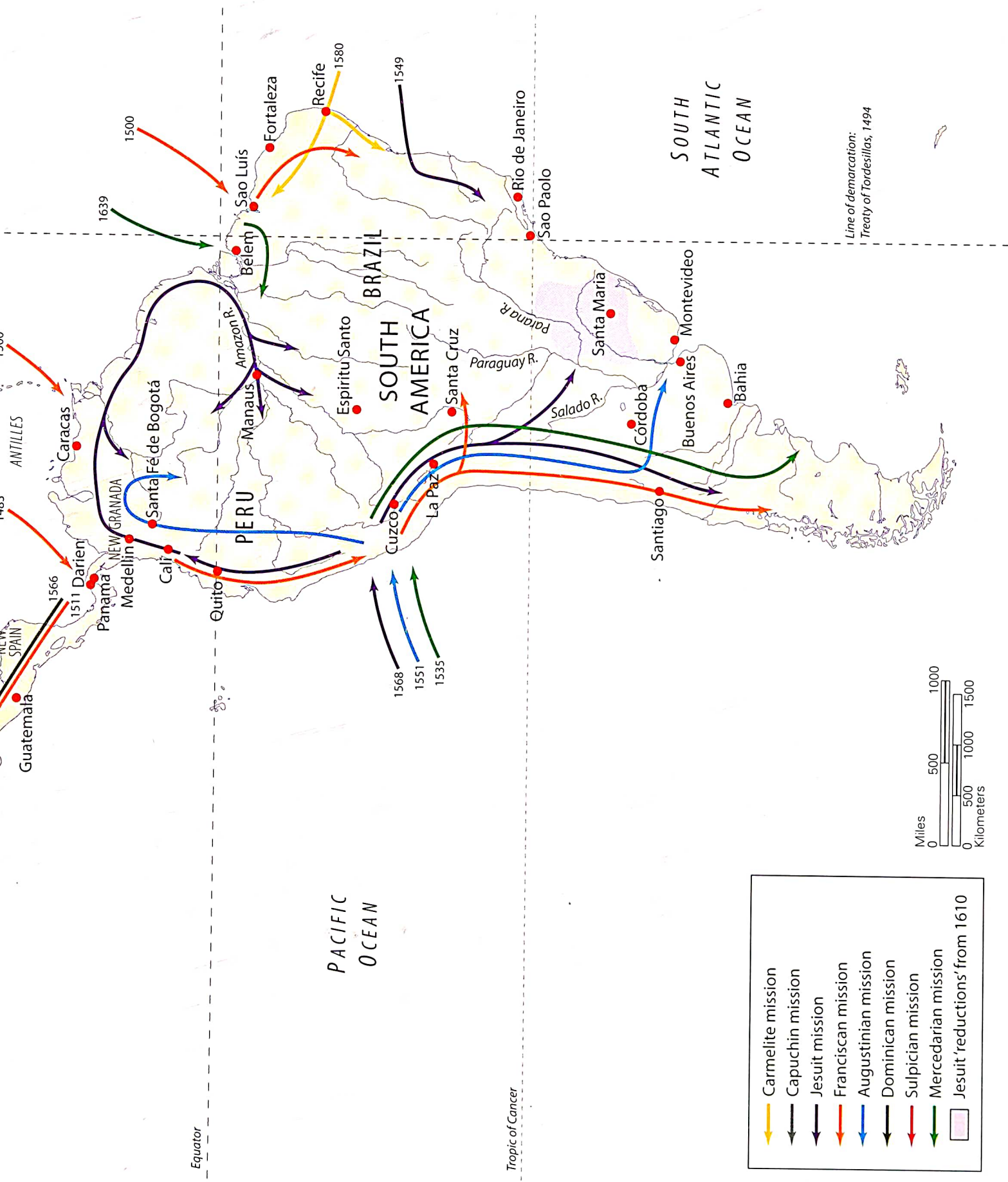
Using brutal methods, the Spanish conquered the Aztec kingdom in Mexico and the Incas of Peru. Cortes slaughtered more than 3,000 Cholula in Mexico, and in 1532 Francisco Pizarro (c. 1471/76–1541), the conqueror of Peru, massacred thousands of Incas. The Inca leader was sentenced to death by burning at the stake; but when he agreed to be baptized, his sentence was commuted to death by strangling.

The conquest of Mexico and Peru provided Spain with a rich source of precious metals and vast tracts of land which were granted to Spanish settlers. In return for providing protection and instruction in the Christian faith, the landowners were allowed to use the natives as virtual slaves. Although Queen Isabella of Spain forbade enslavement of the

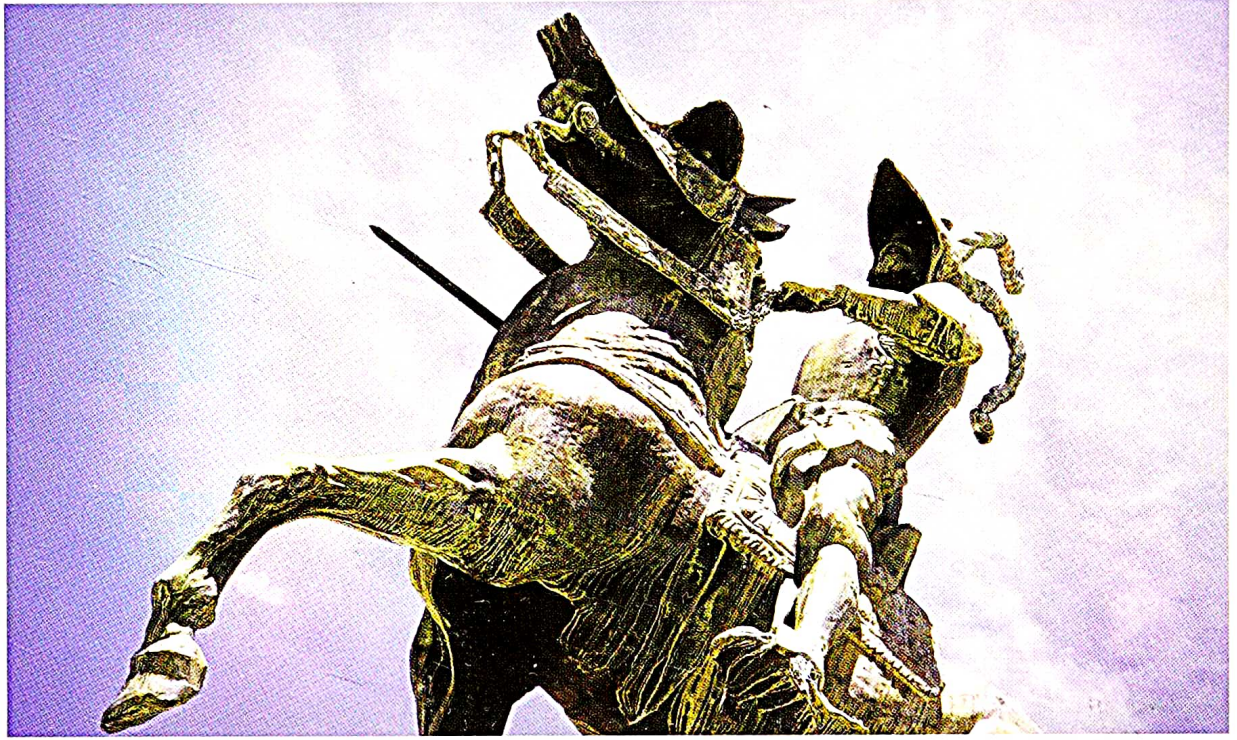
map 42

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO THE AMERICAS





Statue of Francisco
Pizarro, Trujillo,
Caceres, Spain.



native population and Emperor Charles V attempted to protect their rights, the colonists ignored the rules laid down by the distant government. In view of the appalling way in which they were treated, it is surprising many Native Americans did convert to Christianity: it was claimed more than one million were baptized between 1524 and 1531. However, clearly enthusiastic missionaries overestimated their success. Moreover conversion was often superficial; many 'converts' had minimal understanding of their new faith. Frequently the result was syncretism, with pre-Christian practices and beliefs surviving and mingling with Christian tradition.

Generally the Spanish treated the natives as inferior, and although in 1536 one bishop founded a college to train native priests near Mexico City, the Spanish laity repudiated the concept of native clergy. A few Spanish priests protested, best known of whom was Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), whose father had sailed with Columbus on his second voyage. De Las Casas became convinced the current treatment of Native Americans was evil and

contrary to Christian teaching, and from 1514 he spent his life campaigning for their rights. He worked tirelessly in Spain and the Spanish colonies to improve conditions for Native Americans, often encountering fierce opposition. A few other priests and laymen also came to the natives' defence.

Jesuit missions

As they went to America, Africa, and Asia in search of converts, Jesuit priests often travelled in Spanish and Portuguese ships in search of new colonies and new riches. They endowed their converts with their own enthusiastic brand of Catholicism. The Jesuits played a leading role in the conversion of Brazil and Paraguay, and, with the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, led the Church of Rome in a period of rapid overseas expansion between 1550 and 1650. Almost all of Mexico, Central and South America, along with a large part of the population of the Philippines, became adherents of the Roman Catholic Church by these means at this time.

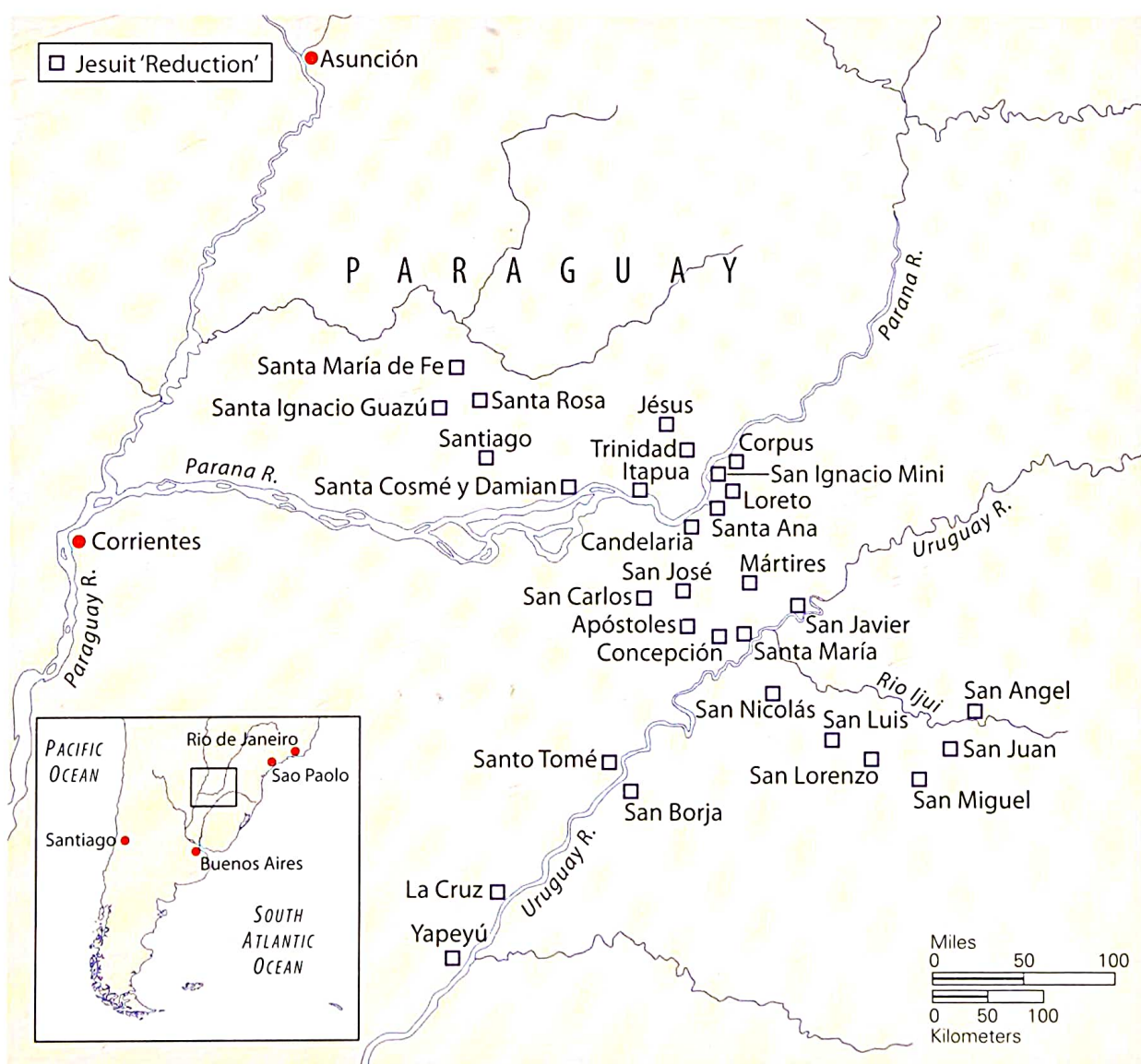
The Jesuits introduced a controversial method of protecting Native Americans from exploitation. Between 1583 and 1605 they created a system of self-sufficient native reservations that offered a settlement and refuge for the Guarani Indians of Paraguay and Brazil who had been enslaved by the Spanish colonists. Although colonists opposed this policy, Philip III of Spain aided the Jesuits by means of subsidies and legal measures. This venture later became so successful that the Spanish government no longer needed to subsidize it.

The Jesuits set up around thirty of these reservations, known as 'Reductions', which included hospitals, schools, and provision for entertainment and work. Sites for these Reductions were chosen for their healthy climate and proximity to water, and planned

on a square pattern with the church at the centre. Residents led a rather regimented life, separated from the 'corruption' of the wider society, in a system that has been criticized for its paternalism and regimentation.

JESUIT REDUCTIONS IN PARAGUAY

map 43



By 1555 there was a Reformed church in Paris, and five years later more than seventy Protestant congregations in France. From the late 1550s the French Protestants, who included many from the rich nobility and merchant and manufacturing middle classes, became known as 'Huguenots'. In 1559 a Protestant General Synod met and adopted a strongly Calvinistic confession of faith.

In an attempt to reconcile French Protestants and Roman Catholics, a Colloquy was held in 1561 at Poissy, near Paris, led on the Catholic side by Cardinal François de Tournon (1489–1562), and on the Huguenot side by Theodore Beza and Peter Martyr Vermigli; but it failed in its aims.

Between 1562 and 1598 a series of eight civil wars raged intermittently in a struggle for power between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics. A brief lull followed the Peace of St Germain (1570), which granted the nobility freedom of worship, allowed Huguenots two places of worship in each district of France, and put four cities – Cognac, La Charité, Montauban, and La Rochelle – under Huguenot control.

St Bartholomew's Day massacre

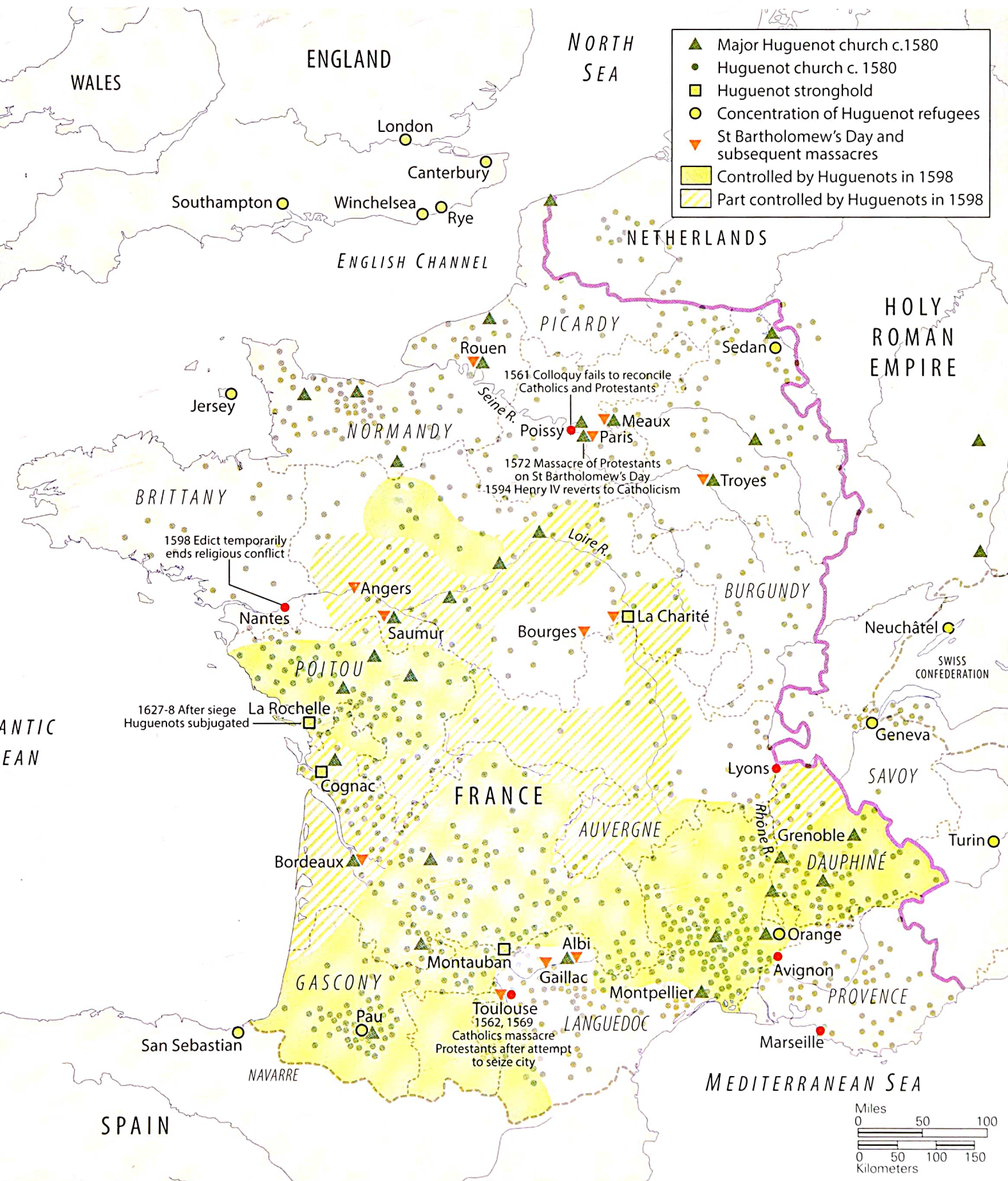
But on St Bartholomew's Day 1572, Huguenots in Paris and elsewhere were massacred in cold blood, a blow that shattered – but did not destroy – Protestantism in France. When the Protestant Henry IV succeeded to the French throne in 1589, Protestant hopes ran high; but French Catholics formed an alliance with the King of Spain and

threatened to plunge the country in blood if he remained a Protestant. Henry yielded for the sake of peace and to preserve his throne: he is falsely supposed to have claimed, 'Paris is well worth a Mass.'

After further devastation, and with all parties exhausted, a compromise was reached in the Edict of Nantes of 1598. This gave Huguenots the right to public office and public worship except in Paris, Rheims, Toulouse, Lyons, and Dijon; and a number of cities were listed as Protestant 'places of refuge'. Meanwhile Roman Catholicism remained the official religion of the realm, now followed by a majority of the population.

Edict of Nantes

The Edict of Nantes compromise endured precariously until revoked by King Louis XIV (1643–1715) in 1685, for which action the Jesuits were partly responsible. This caused hundreds of Protestants to reconvert to Catholicism and thousands more to flee the country. Many Huguenots made their way to Geneva, the Netherlands, Prussia, England, and North America; others remained and suffered persecution or fled to the mountains of central France in an attempt to avoid it.



For 600 years the Low Countries had belonged to a middle kingdom between the Frankish and Germanic powers – most recently Burgundy. The region was divided into seventeen autonomous provinces: those in the northern provinces spoke Flemish or Dutch, while the Walloons, in the southern provinces, spoke a dialect of French. United under the Duke of Burgundy, the people possessed a strong sense of independence.

The earliest Protestants in the Netherlands were Lutherans, soon followed by Anabaptists. After the fall of the radical outpost of Münster, the peaceable Mennonites became the dominant Anabaptist group in the Low Countries.

In 1509, Charles V, himself born in the Low Countries, became Duke of Burgundy. Initially he reacted to religious diversity with suppression: between 1518 and 1528 around 400 people were sentenced for religious dissent. The first to be burned were two Lutherans in 1523, but such persecution was unpopular even among Catholics. Local authorities were reluctant to enforce the laws against heresy and people sometimes rose locally in protest against executions.

Calvinism

In the 1550s Calvinism began to appear. Guido de Bres (or Guy de Bray, 1522–67), a French-speaking minister trained in Geneva, drafted the Belgic Confession in 1561; this was accepted by a Synod in Antwerp in 1566, and at Dort in 1619. In 1574 the University of Leiden was founded to promote Reformed theology.



The Belgic Confession was presented to the new ruler of the Netherlands, Philip II of Spain, with an affirmation of loyalty. However he was fiercely committed to Roman Catholicism and unwilling to make concessions to heretics. Philip persisted in persecution even when it was clear he was alienating his subjects. Determined as

he was to stamp out heresy and curb the independent spirit of the Low Countries, war inevitably resulted.

Revolt against Spain

The religious war that ensued was largely a revolt against Spain, led by the Counts of Egmont and Horn and William of Orange ('William the Silent', 1533–84). In 1566 iconoclastic riots broke out across the Low Countries, as zealous Protestants attacked churches and monasteries and destroyed images. Philip had withdrawn to Spain, and after his sister, the regent, Margaret of Parma, made some religious concessions, the Protestants and Orange, Egmont, and Horn helped restore order. From April 1566 to April 1567 there was a brief respite in persecution – the 'wonder year' – during which Protestantism prospered and grew significantly.

But in 1567 Philip II took his revenge, sending the brutal Duke of Alba (or Alva) with 10,000 troops to commence a reign of terror. Egmont and Horn, who had earlier helped suppress the riots and declared their loyalty to Philip, were publicly executed and soon celebrated as martyrs. Between 6,000 and 8,000 people suspected of heresy were brought before the 'Council of Troubles' – known by the rebels as the 'Council of Blood' – and many of them executed. Penal taxation was imposed and local autonomy suppressed. Many Protestants fled to neighbouring countries.

-  Spread of Protestantism 1545-65
-  Outbreaks of iconoclasm 1566 'the wonder-year'



William the Silent emerged as the hero of the struggle with Spain, finding his strongest support in the northern provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, where Calvinism had made significant gains. In 1572 his 'sea beggars' captured a number of ports and defeated the Spanish fleet in the Zuider Zee. The rebels even opened the dikes to hinder the invading Spanish army. Philip II was never able to regain the northern provinces and by 1577 had lost most of the Low Countries.

The 'Spanish Fury' – when the unpaid Spanish troops in the southern provinces sacked Antwerp and murdered up to 8,000 of its inhabitants – enraged the people of the southern provinces and in November 1576 they joined the northern provinces in a treaty known as the Pacification of Ghent. The following year all the provinces joined in the Union of Brussels; people of both confessions combined to resist the Spanish tyranny.

The Spanish cause was rescued by a new commander, the Duke of Parma, who arrived with 20,000 troops in 1578. Victorious on the battlefield, he regained the loyalty of the southern provinces in 1579 by the Union of Arras. In response, the northern provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, Overijssel, and Groningen joined in the Union of Utrecht, by which they committed themselves to freedom of conscience for all citizens. In 1581 the States-General of the northern provinces proclaimed the independence of the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic.

William the Silent was assassinated in 1584, at a time when Parma was successfully regaining much territory, putting the Protestant cause in jeopardy. However the Dutch Protestants now produced two able new leaders: Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and Maurice of Nassau. The latter recovered many of the towns Parma had captured, and by 1600 had effectively

blocked any further advance from the southern provinces.

Low Countries divided

In 1609 the new ruler of Spain, Philip III, signed a Twelve Years' Truce that recognized the division of the Low Countries into the Catholic southern provinces and the Protestant north.

War recommenced in 1621, but now the Dutch held all the advantages. Their armies pushed the Spanish forces south and their fleet enjoyed great success. By the Peace of Westphalia (1648), Spain finally recognized the independence of the United Provinces.

Reformed Church

Although the Calvinists played a major role in gaining independence from Spain, their ministers did not manage to turn the Netherlands into a new Geneva. The Reformed Church became the 'public' church in the sense that it was the only church the secular authorities recognized, but Remonstrants (followers of the theology of Arminius), Mennonites, and Lutherans were all allowed to hold services in their homes, and even Roman Catholic house-churches were not harassed. However in the southern provinces, Catholicism was restored and the remnants of Protestantism suppressed, in what now became known as the Spanish Netherlands.



Philip II formed his *Grande y Felicísima Armada* ('Great and Most Happy Navy') to respond to challenges to his Roman Catholic faith and his pride as King of Spain and Naples (from 1556) and Portugal (from 1580), and ruler of half the Habsburg lands plus the rich Spanish Empire in the New World. Convinced of his crusade to re-establish Catholic Christendom, he had ruthlessly put down the final revolt of the Moriscos – secret Moorish Muslims who had outwardly conformed to Catholicism (1569–71) – and won the critical Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), sinking 80 Turkish galleys and capturing 130 others.

Philip had been vacillating about an attack on England, which was proving a constant irritant. The English were assisting the Dutch rebels, raiding Philip's convoys from New Spain, defying the pope, and obedient to an excommunicated queen – Elizabeth. Finally, in 1587, England executed the Catholic Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who had been forced into exile by John Knox and other Protestant leaders.

In July 1588 Philip despatched the mighty Armada to conquer England and restore it to Roman Catholicism. The military force he assembled was among the largest ever gathered for a sea attack, consisting of 132 ships, 18,000 soldiers, 7,000 sailors, and 3,165 cannon. In addition Philip planned to pick up in Calais 17,000 battle-hardened troops under the command of the Duke of Parma, creating what seemed like an invincible force for the invasion of England. Once his troops had landed, Philip also expected Roman Catholics in England to rise up against their heretical queen.

Disaster

Facing a threat that might have brought an end to Protestantism, England waited in fear. But everything went wrong for the Spanish. Bad planning, poor communications, excellent English seamanship under Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Lord Howard of Effingham, and a 'Protestant wind' that blew the Spanish ships away from the English coast brought disaster to the

Armada. Its ruin was completed by wild storms that drove the unwieldy Spanish galleons ashore as they sailed on around the British Isles.

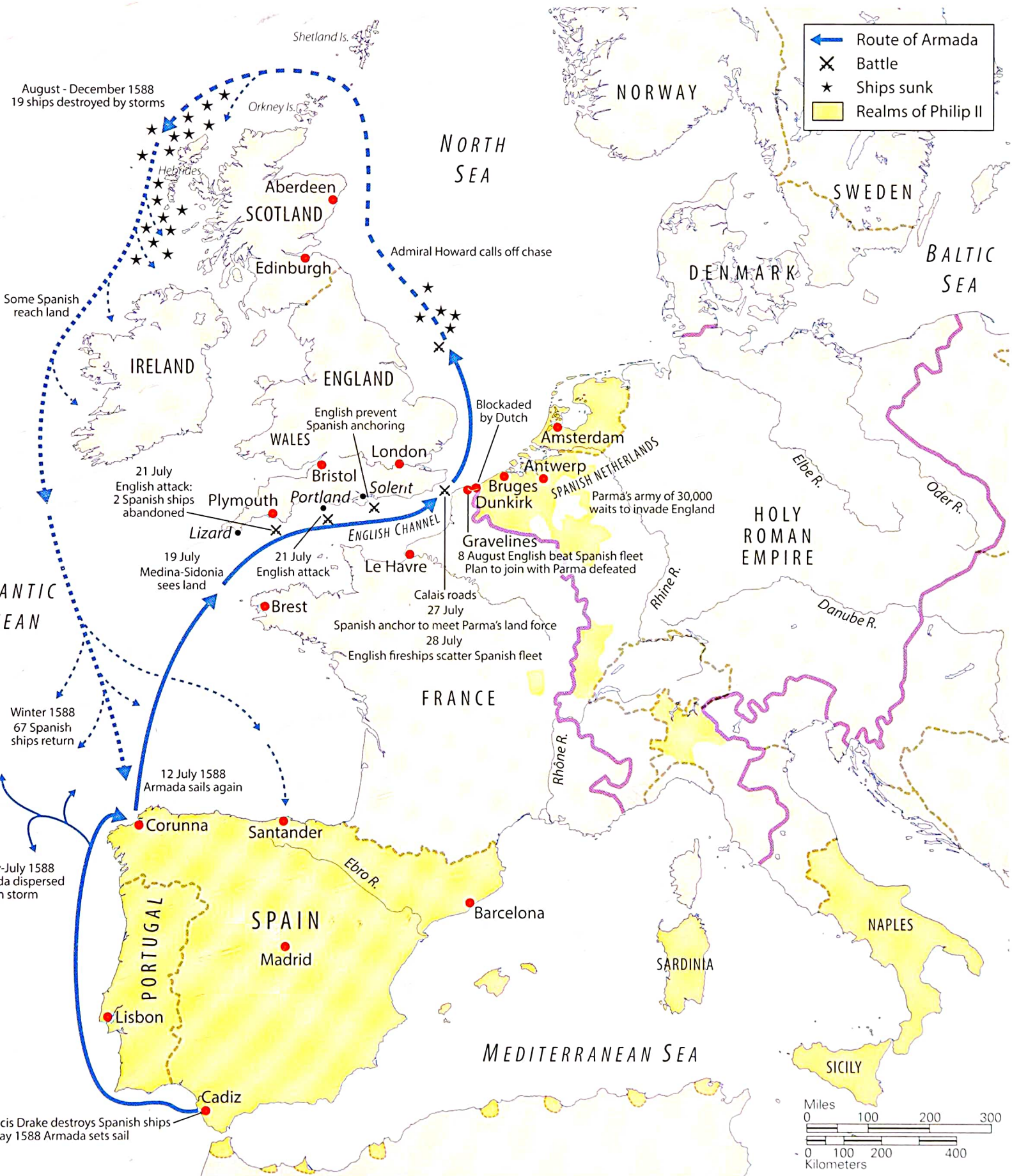
This famous victory continued to be celebrated long after Elizabeth's death, and in the following century provided material for Protestant preachers to demonstrate that the English were a 'chosen people'. Although English-Roman Catholics remained loyal throughout the crisis, they nevertheless became identified with the threat from Spain.

Philip II of Spain.



PHILIP II AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

map 47



Part 4

Early Modern Europe

The towers stand in flames,
the church is violated.
The strong are massacred ...
fire, pestilence and death
my heart have dominated.

ANDREAS GRYPHIUS, 1636



During the 1540s and early 1550s, English-style religious changes were cautiously introduced in Ireland, guided by the experienced Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St Leger, who was personally no enthusiast for Protestantism. Most Irish bishops accepted the oath of royal supremacy to Henry VIII, and under Edward VI the government secured widespread use of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. Only in the far north – in the remote and predominantly Gaelic parts of the Archdiocese of Armagh – was there no religious innovation.

Mary Tudor's restoration of traditional religion was enthusiastically welcomed in Ireland. She began to plant immigrant 'New English' settlers in the midland areas of King's County and Queen's County (Offaly and Leix), and Queen Elizabeth promoted further plantation schemes.

Plantation

This New English plantation strategy made it easy for the Irish to regard all incoming Englishmen as enemies and provoked serious warfare in the 1570s and 1590s. The Gaelic aristocracy allied with agents of the Counter-Reformation and with England's Catholic enemies – principally Spain, which made repeated but unsuccessful efforts to aid Irish Catholics. The Catholics now began to reshape Irish traditionalist religion and by the 1580s younger Irish clergy were increasingly choosing allegiance to the Pope rather than to the Queen.

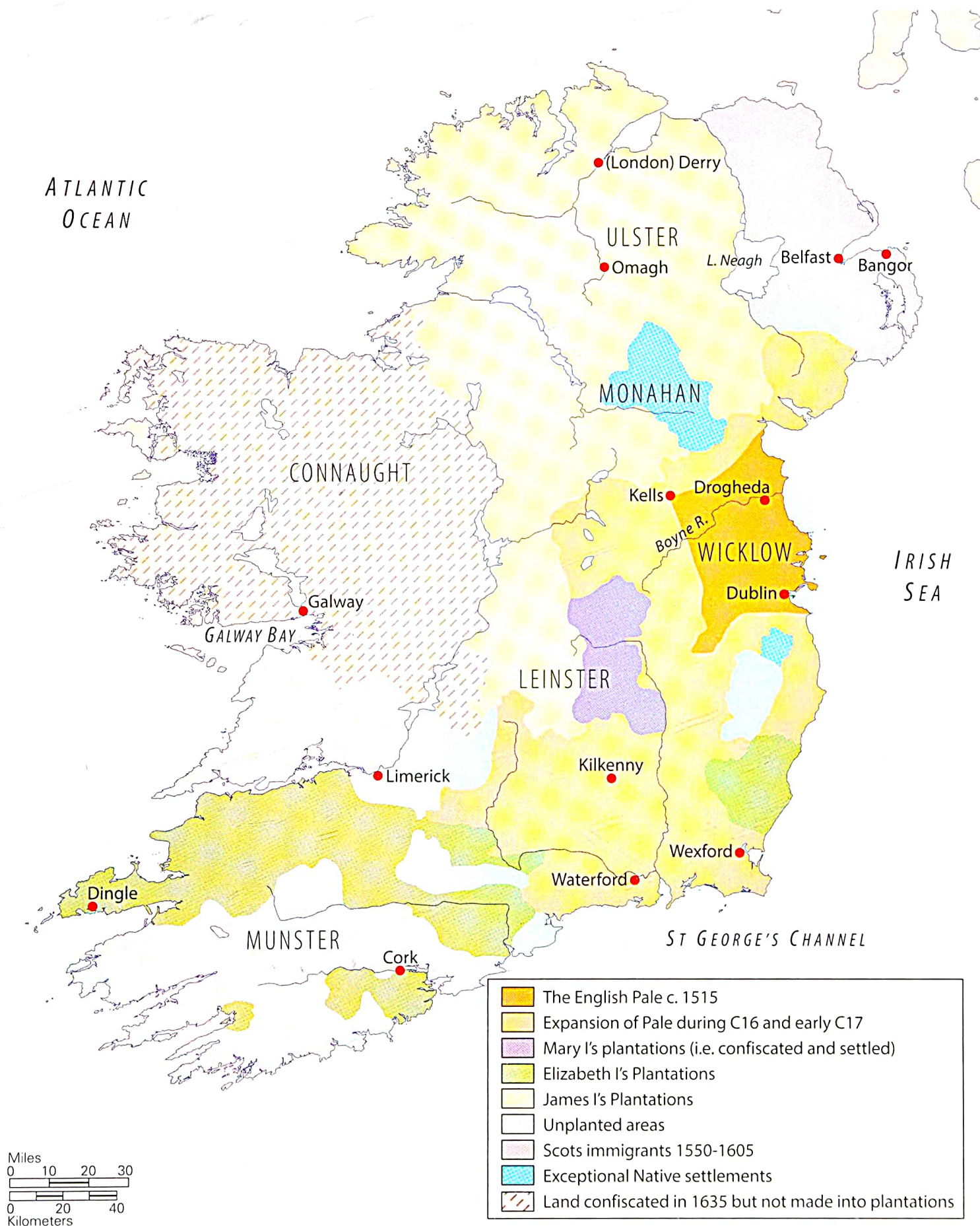
Thousands of Irish left for Catholic Spain or France, either permanently or to get a non-Protestant education. Between 1590 and 1649, six colleges were set up in Spain and Portugal with the main purpose of training Irish clergy. These clergy returned to share the popularity of the mendicant Orders, whose communal life had continued unbroken in many parts of western Ireland, often still in their original buildings. Only a handful of major

Irish towns established anything like a 'well-regulated' English Protestant parish, although the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1594 offered an education for the new Protestant governing class.

Scots settlers

Previously the strongest Gaelic region of Ireland, the most extensive plantation scheme was implemented in Ulster. From 1609 James I backed projects to import settlers, mostly from the lawless border areas of Scotland. These new arrivals were not always convinced Protestants, but characteristically professed Protestantism when a land-grabbing scheme backed by Protestant money from the city of London was implemented. Throughout Ireland, New English settlers, often holding a Calvinist theology that portrayed them as God's chosen people living among barbarous papists, came to dominate the established Church of Ireland.

In 1597 the Jesuits arrived permanently in Ireland, and by the 1620s Roman Catholics had about the same number of clergy working in the island as the Protestants. The Counter-Reformation achieved one of its greatest victories in Ireland: official Protestantism became an elite sect and Roman Catholicism the popular religion, a result unique in the Reformation.



The Great Migration

Early in the seventeenth century, Protestants began to colonize North America, starting with settlements on the Atlantic coast. One of the powerful side-effects of the Reformation was to give oppressed people a spiritual motive for emigration. The first colonists combined missionary zeal with a desire for freedom of worship, while they also often had commercial motives.

Following early colonization attempts by explorers such as Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Richard Grenville, in 1607 a community was set up at Jamestown, Virginia, with Robert Hunt acting as Anglican chaplain. However Anglicanism was never popular in Virginia or the other colonies. The church authorities failed to provide a bishop for New England, which tended to weaken the Episcopalian church during the colonial period.

Some of the migration originated in expatriate English nonconformist and Separatist communities in the Netherlands that had set up churches there since the 1590s. The Pilgrim Fathers who disembarked at Plymouth, New England, in 1620, were Independents who had already left the English national church to seek ecclesiastical asylum in Holland.

James I

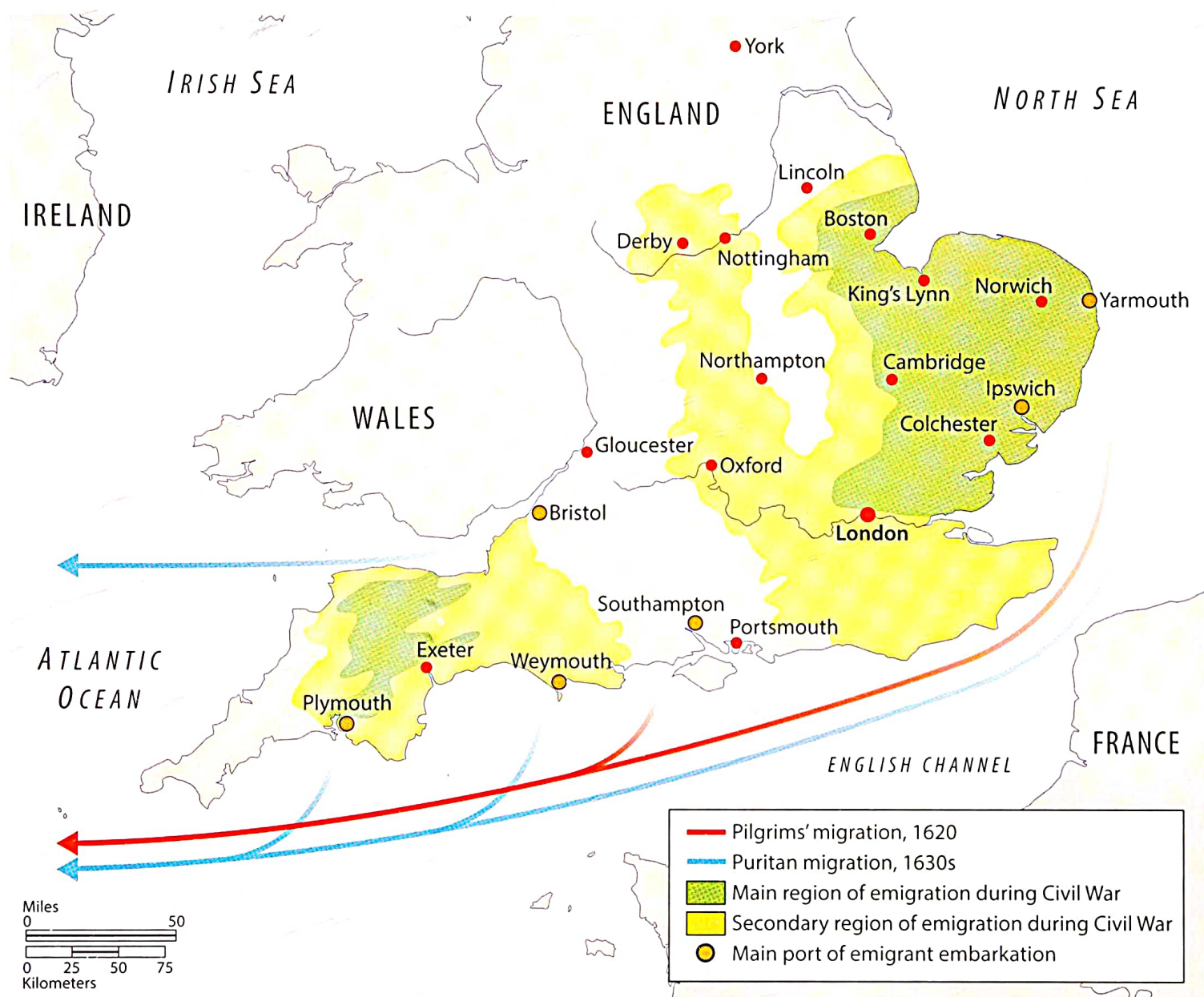
King James I made some attempt to reconcile Puritan clergy, who had been alienated by the blocking of further reform in the Church of England. But after Charles I succeeded him in 1625, religious conflict worsened and Parliament increasingly questioned the king's authority.

Replica of the Pilgrim Fathers' vessel *Mayflower* off Massachusetts, New England.

In 1629, Charles dissolved Parliament, in an attempt to neutralize his enemies there, who included many Puritan laymen.

With such a hostile religious and political climate, many Puritans decided to leave the country. The 'Great Migration' of 1629–40 saw 80,000 people leave England,





with some 20,000 migrating to each of Ireland, New England, the West Indies, and the Netherlands. The 'Winthrop fleet' of eleven ships, led by the flagship *Arbella* (or *Arabella*), took around 800 passengers to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630. Immigrants to New England came from every English county except Westmoreland, with almost half from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. By 1641, 200 ships had arrived with around 21,000 immigrants, among them 129 clergymen and theologians with links to Cambridge University, especially Emmanuel

College, and to East Anglia, where many had held parishes or had family connections. The movement of colonists to New England was mainly of families with some education leading quite prosperous lives.

Migration continued until Parliament was finally recalled in 1640, when it dropped off. When the English Civil War began in 1641, some colonists returned to England to fight on the Puritan side. Possibly 7 to 11 percent of colonists returned to England after 1640, including about one-third of the clergymen.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, wars of religion shook every country in Europe. These conflicts also involved other volatile forces: the rise of nationalism, competition between aristocratic families, conflicts between monarchs and ambitious nobles, and the decay of imperial authority. In Germany all these forces were present, and the situation was complicated by the large number of small states and principalities that survived from the feudal age.

The Peace of Augsburg (1555) merely provided a breathing space. The territorial expansion of Protestantism reached its widest extent in central Europe around 1566, and then began to recede before the militant forces of the Counter-Reformation. A Protestant 'Union' of 1608 was countered by a Catholic 'League' in 1609.

The reforms, divisions, and revolutions of the sixteenth century led to a redefining, tightening, and redrawing of geographical, ecclesiastical, and theological boundaries. At the Council of Trent the leaders of the Latin church tightened discipline and doctrine, and re-invigorated the church; a leaner, more focussed Roman Catholic Church emerged. Excluded were Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans – all heirs to Catholic traditions and teachings of earlier centuries.

The Lutherans, led by Jacob Andreae (1528–90) and Martin Chemnitz (1522–86), drew up in the Formula of Concord (1577) a precise, definitive statement of belief that was signed by representatives of many German state-churches and thousands of pastors.

At the Synod of Dort (1618–19), Calvinists from the Netherlands, England, Switzerland, Scotland, the Palatinate, and other German states drew up a similar definition of their doctrine. As was the case with both the Latin church and the Lutherans, hard-line Calvinists were concerned to protect their version of Reform against dissenting voices within their own movement, such as Jakob Arminius (1560–1609) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), as well as against Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Leading in the formulation of Calvinist orthodoxy was Francis Gomar (1563–1641),

who helped codify Reformed doctrines.

These new and rigorous versions of the three main positions were used to suppress those holding more moderate views: Catholic moderates were suppressed after Trent; Lutheran moderates after the Formula of Concord; and Arminians after Dort. But the formulae from Trent were never published in France, the Formula of Concord was not accepted by Lutherans of Hesse, Zweibrücken, Anhalt, Pomerania, Holstein, Denmark, Sweden, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, or Magdeburg; and in the Church of England Protestant doctrine was combined with traditional structures of church government such as episcopacy.

During the Middle Ages, the Latin church had adapted flexibly to varied customs and practices across Europe. Trent, the Formula of Concord, and Dort attempted to bring uniformity to large areas of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed or Calvinist churches respectively. To this end, lay training was provided; institutions educating the clergy were strengthened and increased in number; and the missions of all three confessions were hugely boosted.

Yet all three confessions affirmed continuity with the Church Fathers and early creeds, and with teachings and practices of the Middle Ages. The major divide remained Roman Catholic insistence upon the finality of papal authority and Protestant insistence upon the finality of Biblical rule. The Anabaptists, who repudiated all three confessions as belonging to a 'fallen' period of church history, were rejected as heretics by all three.



In the late sixteenth century, English fishing and trading posts operated for several years along the east coast of North America before permanent colonies were founded. English colonization began with the establishment of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia in 1607, mainly for commercial reasons. The rule of this colony was aristocratic and authoritarian, and the Church of England was soon established. Conflict arose between the independent farmers and artisans and the government, which wished to develop a plantation economy. In 1612 the cultivation of tobacco began and in 1619 the first African slaves arrived on a Dutch ship.

Pilgrim Fathers

In the 1620s and 1630s, English settlements motivated mainly by religious concerns were founded. The first was established in 1620 by the group of English Separatists known as the Pilgrim Fathers, who had originally left England for the Netherlands because of religious persecution. They subsequently left Europe on board the *Mayflower* to find somewhere they could freely practise their faith and set up an ideal Christian commonwealth. They arrived at Cape Cod, a little south of the territory they had actually been granted. The Pilgrims proceeded to draw up the Mayflower Compact, translating into political terms their understanding of the voluntary base of human associations that made them radical Puritans in church matters. Plymouth Colony remained relatively democratic and its congregational covenant spread to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Massachusetts Bay Company

Further settlements were set up in what became New Hampshire and Maine, and in 1629 and 1630 major expeditions of around 22 ships and 1,400 settlers arrived, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Between 1630 and 1643 some 20,000 Puritans left England, opposed to changes in the Anglican Church which they regarded as a reversion to Roman Catholic practices. Settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were committed to remaining in the

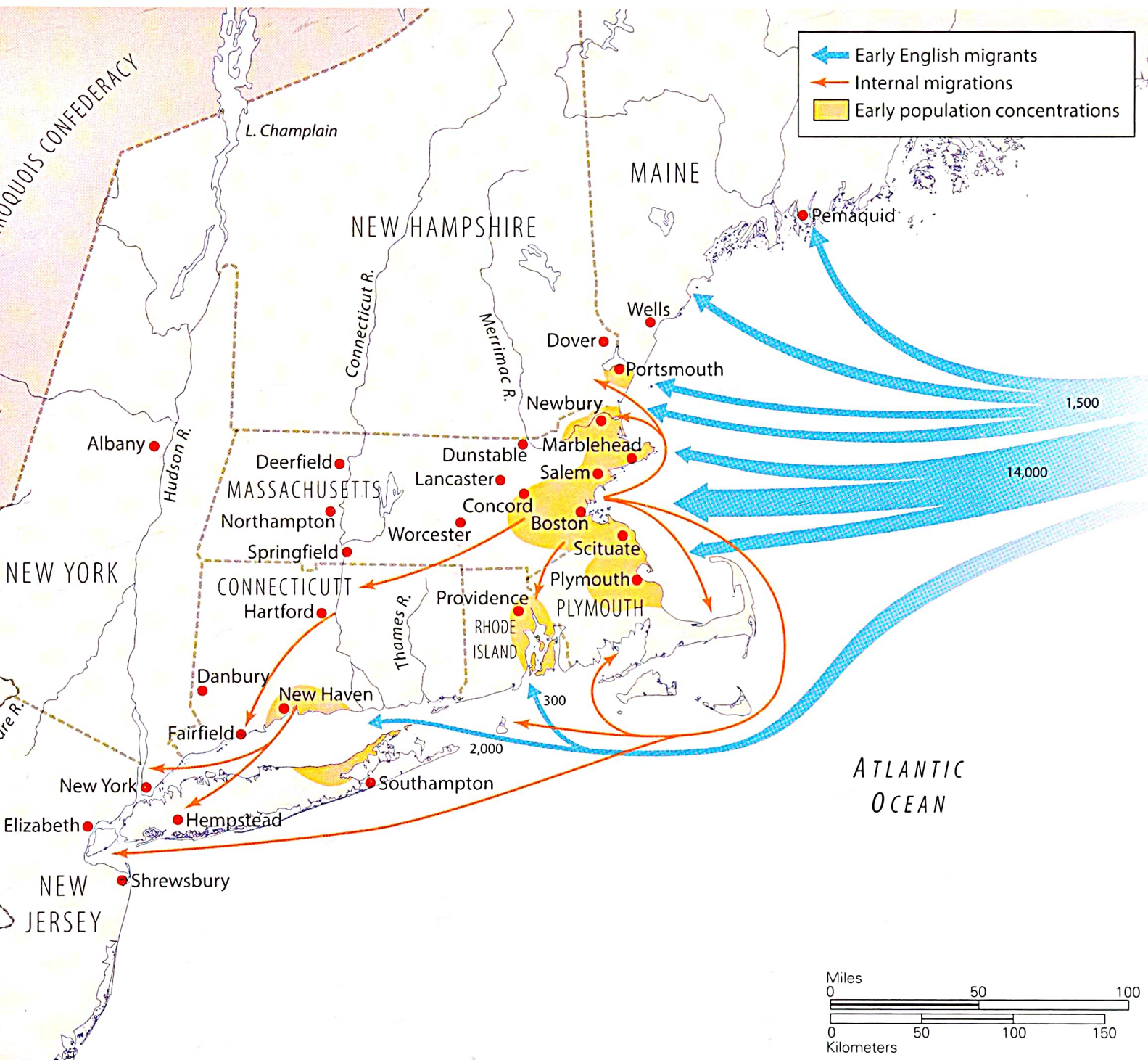
Church of England and working for reform from within.

Both the Pilgrims and the Massachusetts Bay Colony believed in the ideal of a Christian commonwealth governed by Christian principles, seeking to achieve the earthly prototype of the heavenly city. The first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop (1588–1649), famously stated, ‘We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.’ In order to become a *member* of the church or a *citizen* in the colony, an individual had to testify to having experienced true Christian conversion; all others were considered mere ‘attendees’ of the church and ‘inhabitants’ of the colony. The leaders considered themselves in a covenant with God and carried out their secular duties as a religious calling. Massachusetts, with its early villages at Salem, Boston, Dorchester, Watertown, established a state church and a representative assembly, or ‘General Court’, that replaced an earlier open assembly of free citizens. By 1636 Harvard College had been established.

Conflicts arose early between establishment orthodoxy and dissenters like Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, who moved to frontier settlements such as Providence and Hartford, where they could better explore religious freedom, political democracy, and economic opportunity. In 1636 Roger Williams (c. 1603–83) founded

ENGLISH MIGRANTS SETTLE IN NEW ENGLAND

map 51



Providence Plantation on Rhode Island, a colony characterized by religious diversity. The Baptists who settled there committed to

another characteristic of future American politics: the separation of church and state.

Charles V had always held precarious control over the Holy Roman Empire, a patchwork of more than 300 principalities, church states, and free cities, all jealously guarding their liberties against any attempts by the Emperor to increase his authority. He had not been able even to raise effective support from Catholic states to help suppress the Lutherans, since Catholic princes feared success might give him increased power over them too.

The size of his empire presented Charles with many problems, principally military threats from France and the Ottoman Turks. As a result, Charles had been forced to ignore the Protestants while he dealt with urgent matters on his borders. Not until 1546 was he able to attack the defensive alliance of Lutheran princes known as the Schmalkaldic League. Although he won a decisive military victory, the factors summarized above prevented him from imposing firm imperial control and his Catholic faith in Germany; Lutheranism and the political privileges of the German princes were both too deeply entrenched.

Cuius regio, eius religio

In 1555 Charles reluctantly agreed to the Peace of Augsburg, a compromise that gave each German prince the right to choose his realm's religion – provided it was either Catholic or Lutheran. The prince could decide the faith of his subjects on the basis '*cuius regio, eius religio*' ('whose the rule, his the religion'; a phrase coined in the late sixteenth century, but the operating principle of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648), although Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, and other non-Lutheran Protestants were still not to be tolerated.

Instead of settling Germany's religious problems, the Peace of Augsburg actually exacerbated them, leading to thousands of refugees – especially the Reformed and Anabaptists – fleeing Germany and spreading their religious beliefs to the Netherlands, France, and England. Charles V, worn out by

more than thirty years' struggle to maintain his empire and religious unity, gave up his throne. The family lands in Austria and the Imperial title now went to his brother Ferdinand.

Religious tensions

Despite the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism and Reformed Protestantism continued to spread across Germany, further raising religious tensions. Calvinists gained from the Lutherans major states such as the Palatinate, Ansbach, and Hesse, while states such as Brandenburg became a mix of Lutheran and Reformed, instead of solely Lutheran as before. Strong bodies of Reform also existed in Hungary; the Magyars preferred Calvinism to the early Lutheranism, which they associated with German domination of Hungary.

Powered by the Counter-Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had reclaimed lands lost earlier to Protestantism. Some territories had always remained loyal to Rome, but the concentrated efforts of the Jesuits in particular now succeeded in bringing others back to the Latin Church.

Nevertheless the largest Reformation group in Germany continued to be Lutheran. Having emerged from the Schmalkaldic War, the Interims, and the War of Liberation, Lutheranism was now stabilized in its northern strongholds.



In central Europe, hostilities bubbling beneath the surface broke out again in 1618. The war started in Bohemia, long destabilized by the forces of Muslim invaders, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and Transylvanian aristocracies, and Habsburg territorial claims. In 1617, the Habsburg heir, Ferdinand of Styria (1578–1637), was elected king of Protestant Bohemia. Ferdinand, a Jesuit-educated Catholic, was already notorious for his persecution of Lutherans in Austria. He sent two Catholic deputies to Bohemia, to which the Protestants reacted with fury, throwing them out of a palace window (the ‘defenestration of Prague’). When the Bohemian Protestants called for military support, the Protestant Union responded and initially defeated the imperial forces.

The Thirty Years’ War consisted of a series of wars – Bohemian, Danish, Swedish, and Swedish-French – named for the place of major conflict or leading powers involved, but considered as a single unit because of the final comprehensive peace settlement – the Treaties of Westphalia (1648). The first phase of the war (1618–29) was primarily religious; the second (1630–48) largely a struggle over the power of the Habsburg dynasty and the influence of Sweden and France within the Holy Roman Empire.

In 1620 the Bohemian army, led by Frederick V, Elector Palatine from the Rhineland, who had been offered the crown of Bohemia by the rebellious Estates, was routed by a Catholic coalition led by Baron Tilly at the Battle of the White Mountain. Over the next two years, Bavarian and Spanish armies conquered the Palatinate and reclaimed it for Catholicism.

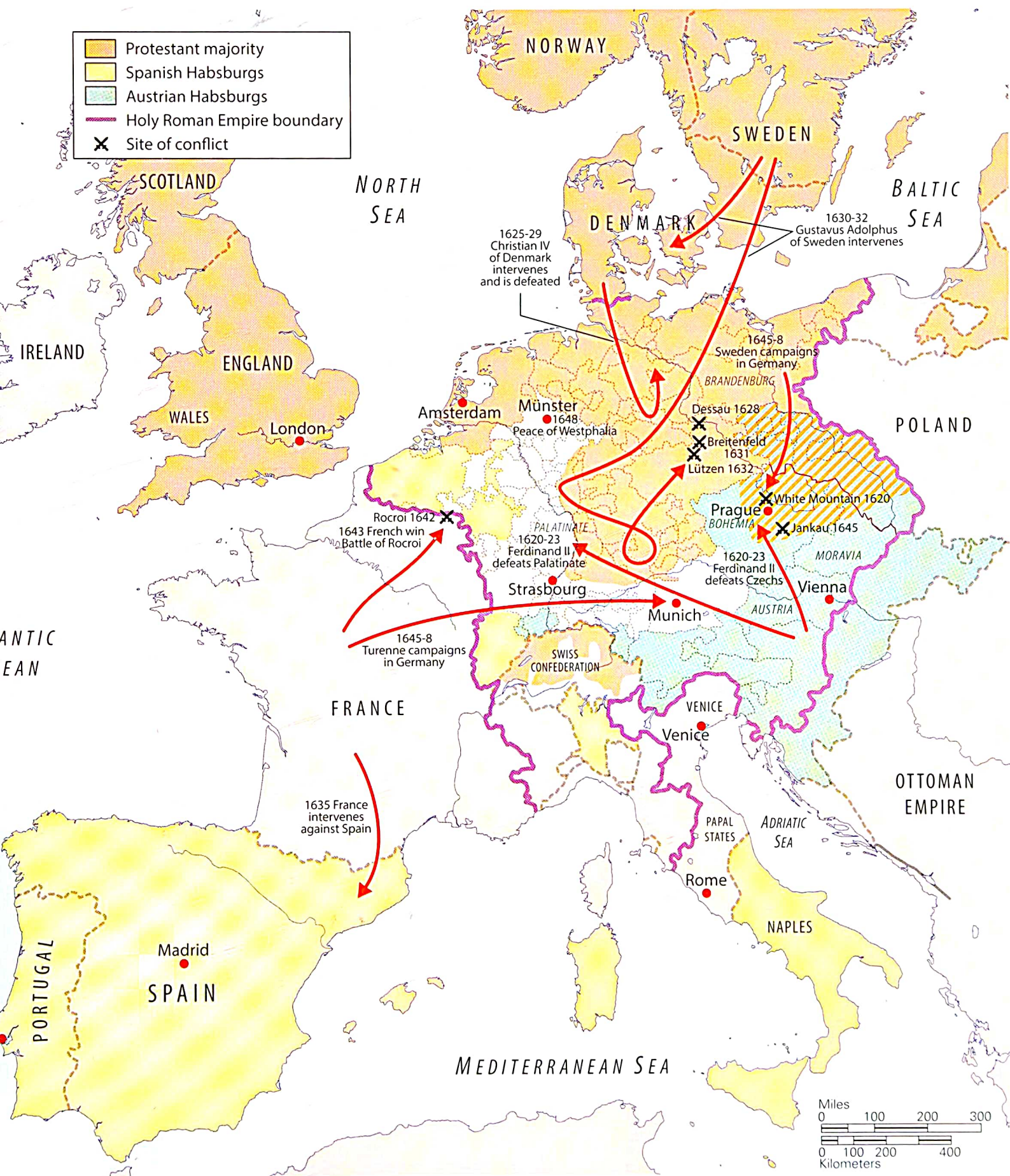
The widespread use of mercenary armies helped make this war particularly devastating for inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire, as the armies lived off the land and pillaged the countryside. Mercenary leaders such as Ernst von Mansfeld (1580–1626) and Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) were happy to fight for either side if sufficiently rewarded. Although labelled a religious war, political factors and the naked desire for personal gain also played a major role.

In 1625 the Lutheran Christian IV of Denmark (1588–1648) entered the war in

an attempt to prevent total Catholic victory. But, unable to find German allies, Christian was defeated by the Bavarians under Tilly at Lutter (1626). Wallenstein now occupied much of Denmark as well as Brandenburg for the Emperor, while his troops also took Magdeburg and the major Lutheran city of Augsburg, forcing both cities to reconvert to Catholicism.

At this point the Emperor was in a position to rescind the Peace of Augsburg and reimpose Catholicism in the Empire. The Edict of Restitution (1629) outlawed Reform and Calvinism and forced the Lutherans to restore church properties they had secularized.

However the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632), now arrived with an army in Pomerania, committed to relieving his fellow Lutherans. Although he met difficulties winning the support of the German Lutheran princes, he received a subsidy from Cardinal Richelieu, the French king’s chief minister, who had a predatory eye on imperial territory in the Rhineland. Adolphus, an outstanding military leader, won the most decisive military victory of the war at Breitenfeld (1631), thereby saving the Protestant cause. The following year he met Wallenstein at the Battle of Lutzen: the imperial forces were defeated but Gustavus Adolphus himself was killed. Wallenstein was assassinated in 1634.



Although the most successful generals had now died, the Thirty Years' War dragged on, the tide of battle ebbing and flowing inconclusively. It became clear after the Battle of Nordlingen (1634) that the Catholics could not hold northern Germany, nor the Protestants southern. With French forces now involved on the Protestant side with the Swedes, the war continued for thirteen more years. After lengthy negotiations, compromise prevailed and finally the Peace of Westphalia was signed (October 1648).

By the settlements of Westphalia, France received Metz, Verdun, Toul, and lands in Alsace and Lorraine, while Sweden gained a beachhead in western Pomerania. Brandenburg acquired eastern Pomerania, Magdeburg, and several bishoprics; Saxony acquired Lusatia; Bavaria gained territory in the Palatinate and became one of the imperial electors, supplanting the Elector Palatine. Switzerland and the United Provinces in the Low Countries were both accorded independence.

Territorial adjustments

Although ostensibly a war of religion, the bloodletting did not significantly alter the confessional picture of central Europe. The Peace of Westphalia reaffirmed the Peace of Augsburg, except that the Reformed Churches were now awarded the same legal recognition as Roman Catholics and Lutherans, the choice of permitted faith depending upon the government of the respective territory. With the exception of lands of the Austrian Habsburgs, where Counter Reformation gains were allowed to stand, areas that were Protestant or Catholic in January 1624 (i.e. before most of the re-Catholicization of ecclesiastical territory in

northern Germany but after the conquest of the Palatinate) would remain so.

Catastrophe

The biggest losers in the war were the German people. For thirty years armies had lived off the land, looting, raping, and destroying. Plague and famine followed the mercenary armies, and cannibalism was reported in several starvation areas. The Thirty Years' War reduced Germany to crude barbarism and brought to an end numerous smaller political units. The Empire suffered severe population loss. It has been estimated there were eight million fewer inhabitants in Germany at the end of the war than at the beginning; the conflict reduced the population by at least 25 per cent and possibly by 35 or 40 per cent.

Quietism

Religious developments reflected the misery of the people who had suffered so much from the armies, pestilence, and starvation. There was an upsurge of personal mysticism, of which Jakob Boehme (1575–1624) is representative. He repudiated the material world, and accentuated the hope of heaven; his writings reflect ecstasy in the divine presence in the soul.



The Treaty of Westphalia marked the end of the last major religious war in Europe. This settlement, the first time a diplomatic congress brought together all the interested parties to address and determine a dispute, served as a model for resolving conflict among warring European nations.

Europe would never be the same. Cardinal Richelieu had made Louis XIV supreme in France, and France the leader of Europe. As a victor in the war, France acquired Alsace-Lorraine and other smaller territories.

Sweden, like France, emerged victorious, controlling the Baltic Sea, and becoming the most powerful nation in northern Europe.

Spain and the Holy Roman Empire now recognized the independence of Switzerland.

By the Treaty of Münster (1648), Spain also recognized the independence of the United Provinces as the Dutch Republic, ending eighty years of conflict between the Dutch and the Spanish. Meanwhile Spain and the Spanish Habsburgs lost colonies and territorial possession.

The German princes had won sovereignty, with each state gaining the power to make its own laws instead of obeying the Emperor. Each prince could also now choose the Reformed Church or Calvinism as well as Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism as the confession of his realm. But Germany remained divided into hundreds of individual, sovereign states, governed by their respective princes. 1648 effectively marked an end to the influence of the Holy Roman Empire, since the princes were now sovereign in their territories.

For Catholicism, Westphalia marked the end of the enforced Counter-Reformation. Whereas up to 1648 religion was a significant determining factor of internal and external politics, this was much less so after the Thirty Years' War.





Several European nations undertook settlements in North America. The Spanish made extensive settlements as they pushed north from the empire of New Spain into what are now Florida and Louisiana; and on the south-west coast, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

While the Catholic Reformation was inspiring worldwide missionary effort, Protestant countries such as England and the Netherlands were also exploring and colonizing, though not so active in evangelizing the peoples they contacted.

Dutch traders founded New Amsterdam in 1626, after more than ten years' profitable fur trading along the Hudson River. In 1664 this town was captured by English forces, who renamed it New York.

From 1638, the Swedes made settlements along the Delaware River, but the Dutch captured Fort Christiana and controlled New Sweden from 1655, until the English captured it.

Maryland

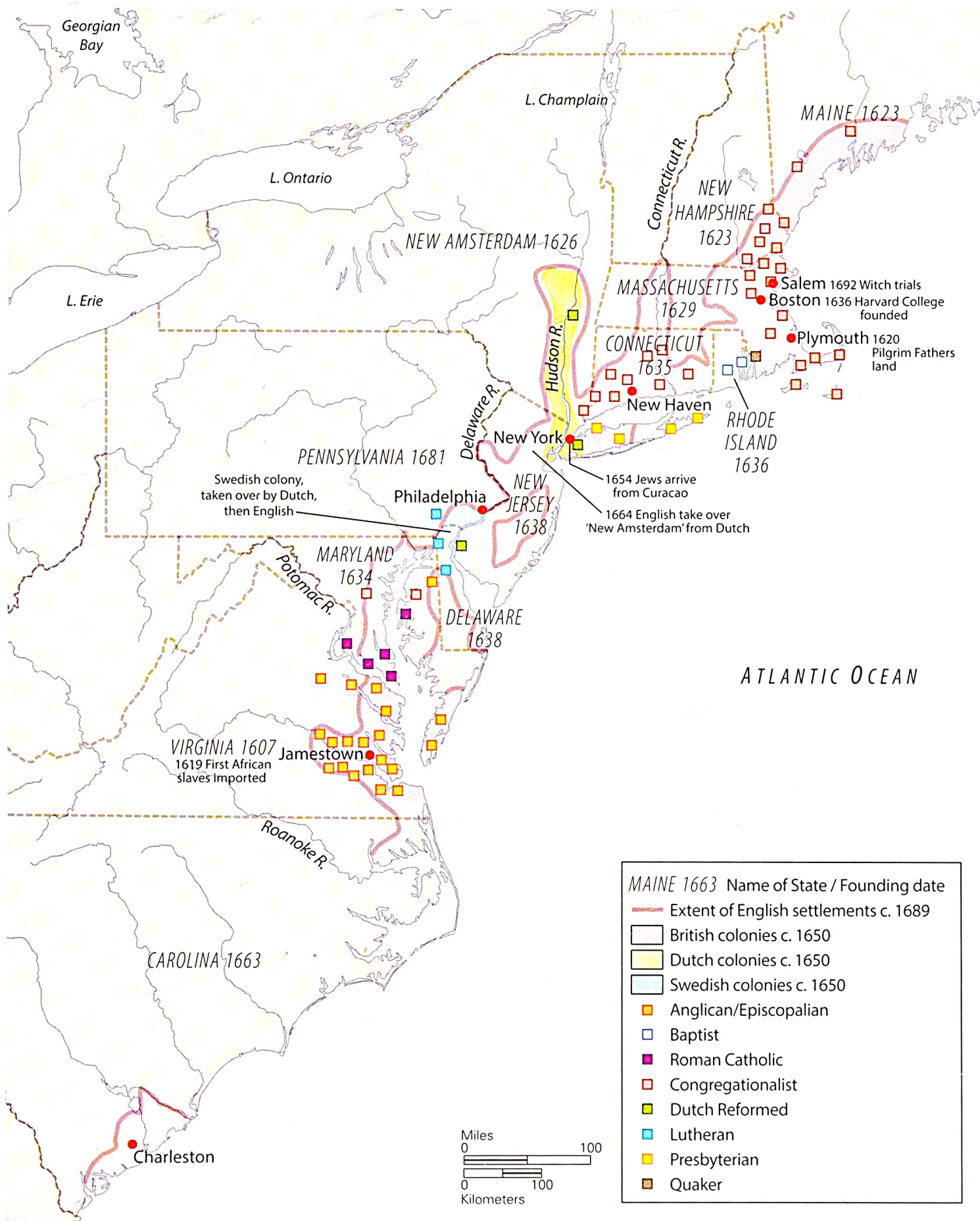
In 1634 English Roman Catholics, including two Jesuit priests, arrived in Maryland to settle an area granted to Lord Calvert by Charles I. In 1649 the Maryland legislature passed an act of religious toleration that was in advance of the times. However, during the English Civil War, Protestants seized the Maryland colony and repealed the Toleration Act. After the Restoration, the Church of England was made the established church here.

Later in the seventeenth century, William Penn founded the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, which also attracted Mennonites and Lutherans.

To the south of Virginia, in the Carolinas and Georgia, a mixed religious tradition prevailed. These colonies, run by gentlemen plantation-owners who worked slaves, were officially Anglican. Mainly Puritan small-holders and artisans moved west into the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains.

Protestant missions

Protestant colonists had limited success sharing their faith with Native Americans. One of the earliest efforts was by John Eliot (1604–90), an Anglican clergyman who went to New England in 1631 and started evangelizing Native Americans in 1646. When it seemed converts could not live as Christians within their tribe, Eliot established 'Praying Towns', quite similar to the Jesuit Reductions of South America. By 1671 Eliot had established fourteen such self-governing communities, composed of around 3,600 members. He also started to train Native American clergy and translated the Bible into their language. Another missionary to the Native Americans, Thomas Mayhew Jr. (1618–57), began work in Martha's Vineyard in 1647. It's estimated that by 1675, when King Philip's War disrupted these activities, approximately 20 per cent of the Native American population of New England was at least nominally Christian.



When Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, it seemed she had achieved her objective of avoiding religious war in England. She had prevented the Puritans from altering her religious settlement, while keeping most of them within the Church of England.

James Stuart, King of Scotland 1567–1625, who succeeded to the English throne in 1603 as James I, also managed to avoid agreeing to the Puritans' demands without alienating them. He accepted moderate Puritans' demand at the Hampton Court Conference for one agreed English translation of the Bible, which resulted in the King James Version – often now referred to as the Authorized Version – published in 1611. During James's reign, the Elizabethan Settlement remained intact and the Church of England broad enough to contain all but radical Separatists or committed Roman Catholics.

Charles I

This stability ended during the reign of his son, Charles I, who antagonized those who wished to be loyal subjects but were disturbed by his religious policy. The Puritans became particularly concerned when he promoted as church leaders those they considered 'Arminians', associated with High Church practice.

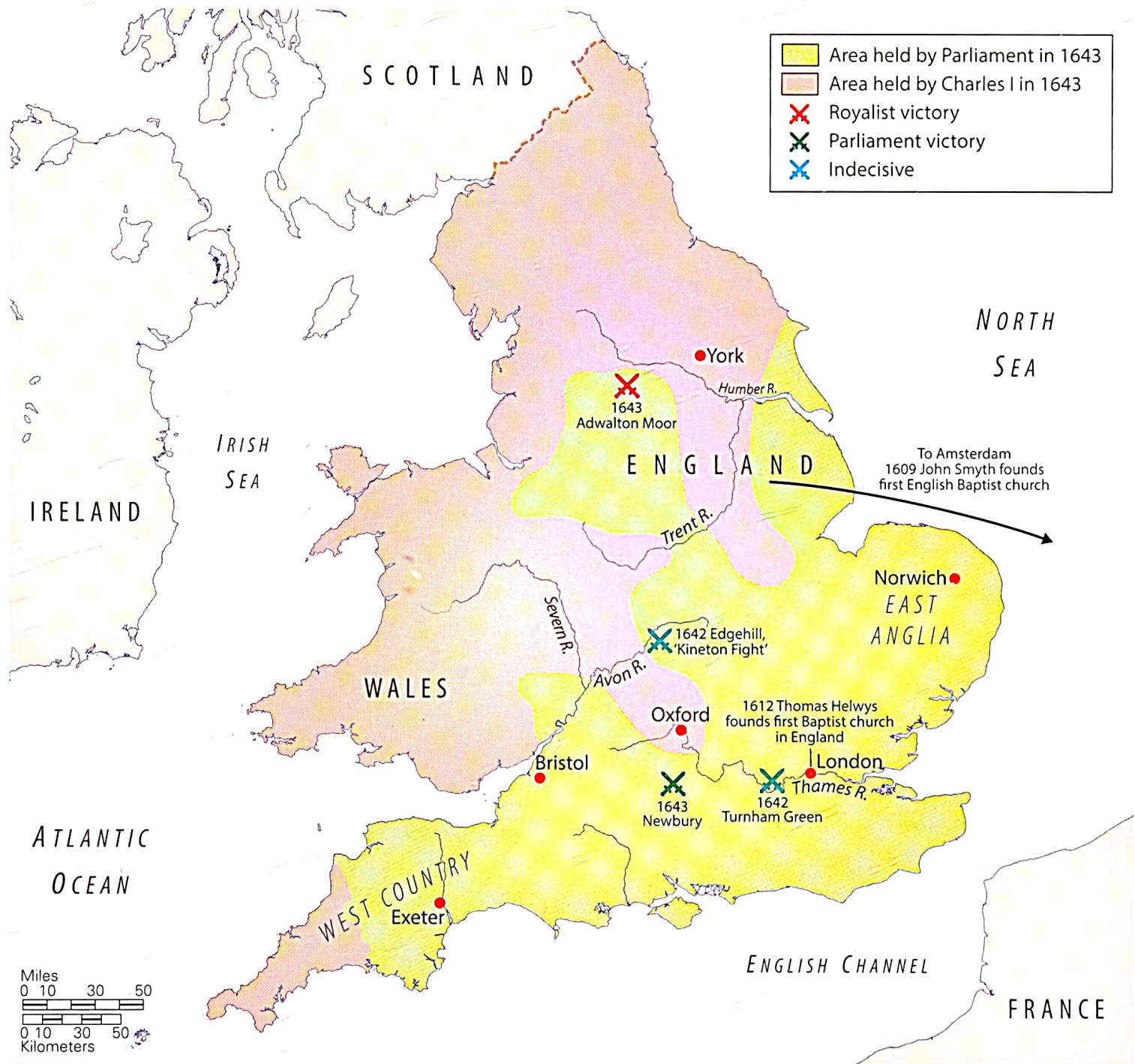
Charles was completely unsympathetic to Calvinism and appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury the Arminian William Laud (r. 1633–45), who began stringently to enforce rules of worship and to coerce and dismiss ministers who refused to conform. Many Puritans departed for North America, while others remained and opposed Charles. The Puritans enjoyed strong support among the gentry in Parliament; when

Charles tried to stop Parliament dealing with matters he considered royal business, they protested strongly.

When Laud attempted to impose ecclesiastical uniformity on Scotland, the Scots drew up a National Covenant denouncing the new prayer book, and in 1638 abolished the episcopacy. A Scottish army invaded England, forcing the king to call Parliament to raise money to wage war. The first Parliament failed to comply, so in 1640 he called the 'Long Parliament',

King Charles I.





with whom he struggled constantly. The Catholic-led Irish Rebellion broke out in 1641, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Protestant settlers in Ulster.

War begins

In August 1642, Charles I left London to raise his standard at Nottingham. The ensuing English Civil War was a struggle between

king and Parliament over constitutional issues, but also a war about religion. Neither side wanted this conflict and both suffered severely. The Puritans eventually succeeded in defeating the king, but then faced new problems, including divisions among themselves and the difficulty of achieving their goal of a godly commonwealth.

Charles I lost the Civil War. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), a gifted general, became political leader of the Parliamentary army, and his force of committed Puritans, the ‘New Model Army’, beat a much more experienced army led by battle-hardened generals. The decisive battle occurred at Naseby (1645), where Cromwell’s disciplined soldiers defeated the king’s forces.

The Parliamentary party was prepared for a settlement that provided for greater religious liberty, parliamentary reform, and the return to power of Charles I. However the king escaped, made an alliance with the Scots, and re-started the war. After Charles had been defeated a second time, Cromwell decided he had to pay with his life. Charles I was executed in January 1649.

The defeat of the monarchy revealed religious divisions among the victorious Puritans, but as Lord Protector Cromwell held his divided country together while he lived. Cromwell faced a proliferation of sects such as the millenarian Fifth Monarchists, who were prepared to use violence to achieve their ends. Others, such as the Levellers and Diggers, had radical political and socio-economic agendas.

Westminster Confession

The Westminster Assembly (1643–53), called to implement an agreed religious settlement, comprised Calvinists from England and Scotland, who divided over questions of church government. The majority were committed to a Presbyterian system, but some argued for a modified episcopacy, while the ‘Independents’ rejected both forms of church government. Out of their deliberations came one of the great Reformed creeds, the Westminster Confession.

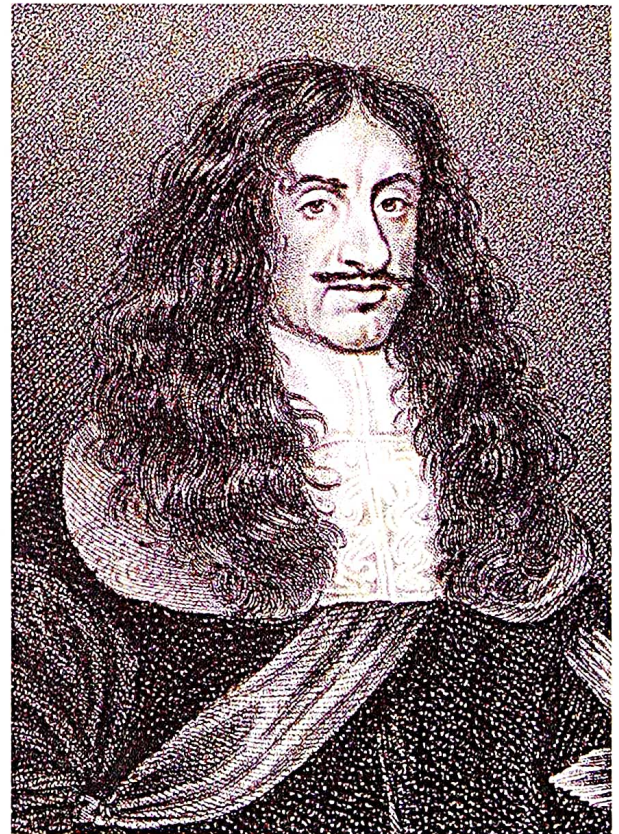
Restoration

When Cromwell died, his son Richard succeeded as Lord Protector, but lasted less than a year. Charles I’s son, Charles II (r. 1660–85), returned to rule a kingdom whose religious divisions were obvious. His

Restoration Settlement restored the Church of England as the Established Church and imposed stringent regulations on Puritans in the so-called Clarendon Code (1661–65), which eventually drove most of them out of the Anglican Church. Many Puritans became Separatists, and the Church of England lost numerous gifted and zealous ministers.

The Civil War – one of the bloodiest conflicts in English history – was a disaster during which one in fourteen adult males was killed. It heralded the way for the modern age, in which religion was relegated to a private matter. Within three decades of the Restoration Settlement, England adopted a form of religious toleration that embraced all but Roman Catholics and anti-trinitarians.

Engraving of King Charles II.





As Lord Protector, Cromwell hoped to construct a Protestant League in Northern Europe. He settled disputes between Denmark and Sweden, concluded an alliance with Sweden, formed strong links with Holland, negotiated peace between the Protestant nations, cleared the English Channel of pirates, and expanded foreign trade.

Between 1649 and 1652, Cromwell subdued a Royalist-backed revolt in Ireland, where his forces committed brutal massacres at the towns of Drogheda and Wexford.

A key feature of Cromwell's foreign policy was his use of sea power: in 1653 he had 180 ships at his disposal, more than France, Spain, or the Netherlands.

In 1654 Cromwell secretly promoted a 'Western Design', to attack Spanish colonies in the West Indies. He demanded that English subjects in Spanish territories should have freedom of worship and that English traders should not be molested. To enforce this, in 1655 he sent a poorly equipped force to San Domingo and Jamaica, and succeeded in taking the latter territory. Cromwell had hoped Puritans from New England might settle there; instead, it became a place to which the English shipped criminals and rebels. Cromwell also regained for England Virginia and the Barbados Islands.

In April 1655, Cromwell's navy attacked a pirate stronghold in Tunis, North Africa, and

forced the sultan to release English prisoners and slaves.

In May 1655, the Catholic Duke of Savoy started viciously to persecute the Protestant Waldensians in his territory. Cromwell sent an agent to investigate, headed a subscription list raising funds for the relief of the victims, and demanded the duke cease his oppression.

Jewish return

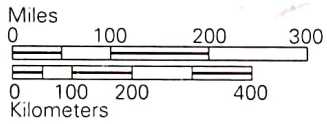
The Jews had been expelled from England in 1290. Cromwell favoured freedom of

religion and wished to see the fulfilment of a prophecy that the Jews would find salvation in Christ, ushering in the Last Days. Hence he informally invited the Jews to return, provided they did not take their worship into the public square, and hosted their leader, Menasseh Ben Israel (1604–57), at a reception in Whitehall.

In June 1658, an English force defeated the Spanish at Mardyck, Gravelines, and Dunkirk. As payment for fighting alongside the French, Cromwell gained for England the port of Dunkirk, which Charles II later promptly sold back to France.

Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658).





The Jesuit Francis Xavier arrived in Japan in 1549, just six years after the first Portuguese traders. In Goa he had met a Japanese called Yajiro, who told him of his native country. Xavier arrived in Japan accompanied by two fellow Jesuits and Yajiro, who had now converted to Christianity. At first Xavier achieved little; yet he admired the Japanese, claiming 'these Japanese are more ready to be implanted with our holy faith than all the nations of the world'. He stayed more than two years and left behind the earliest Japanese converts.

After Xavier's death, other Jesuits carried on his work, achieving considerable success. By 1600, the Japanese church numbered more than 300,000 members. Initially the situation favoured the missionaries: political power rested with some 250 *daimyos* (local feudal chiefs) and Buddhism was in decline. The Jesuits gained the support of some local *daimyos*, and established a seminary to train Japanese priests.

When central authority was re-established, the monarch became suspicious of Christians, who he thought were subversive and allied with local chiefs. In 1593, Spanish Franciscans arrived in Japan, and rivalry between the Christian powers led the ruler, Toyotomi Hideyoski, to turn against believers. In 1597 he crucified twenty Japanese priests and six Spaniards in Nagasaki, and expelled both the Jesuits and Franciscans. His successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu, initially allied with several Christian *daimyos* and tolerated Christians. But when the Dutch replaced the Portuguese as Japan's chief trading partner, they and the English warned the Japanese ruler against Spanish imperialism.

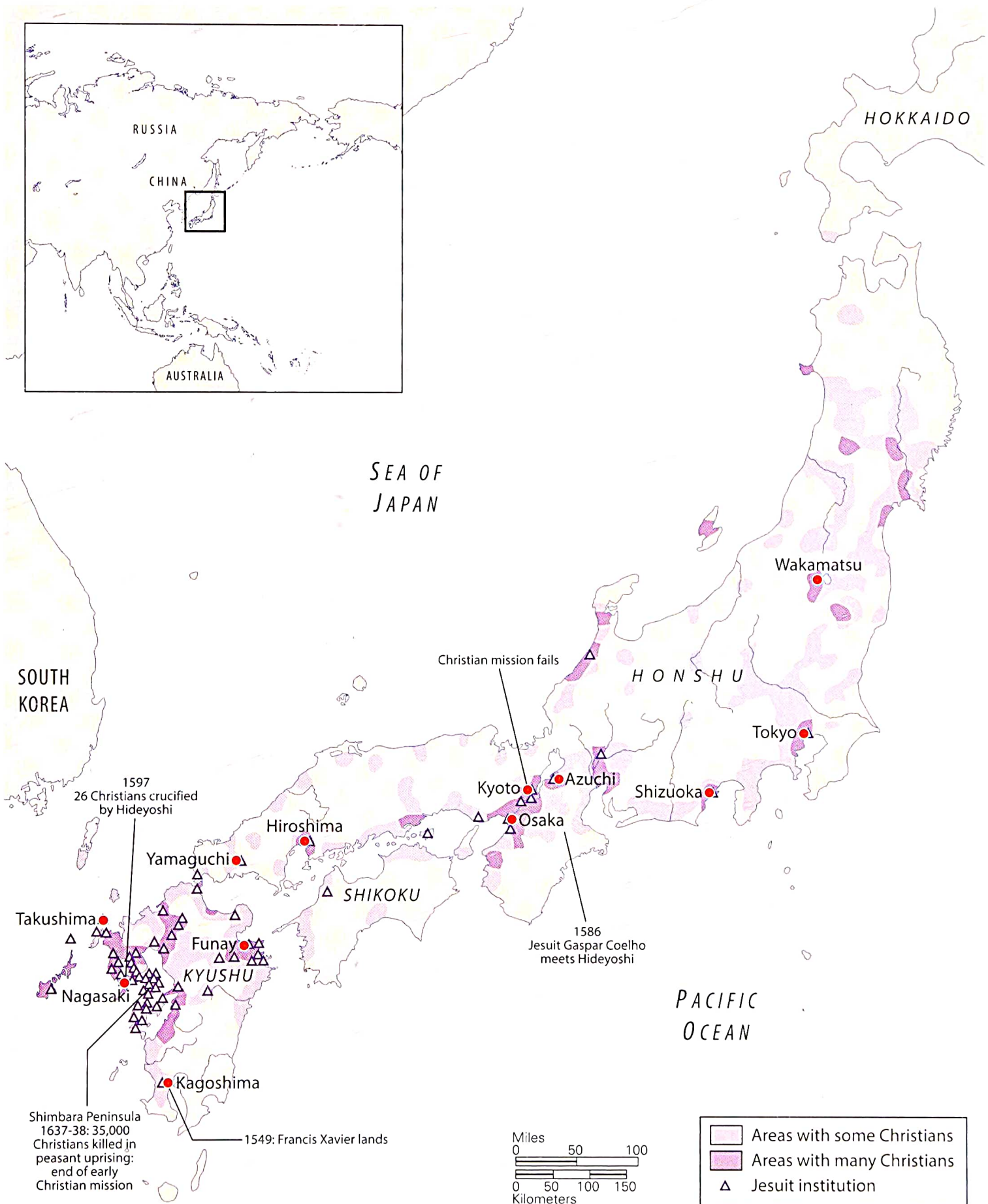
Persecution

Finally the Japanese Shogun lost patience and in 1614 issued an edict: 'The Kirishitan

[Christian] band have come to Japan . . . to disseminate an evil law, to overthrow true doctrine, so that they may change the government of the country and obtain possession of the land. This is the germ of great disaster, and must be crushed.'

This resulted in the brutal persecution of Christians, especially after a peasant uprising in which Christians played a leading role was suppressed in 1637–38. Christians were cruelly treated to persuade them to apostatize. Tortured to the point of death, punishment was halted until they recovered sufficiently, when they were tortured again. This cycle was repeated until they relinquished their faith. Many Christians were also executed – Japanese Christians crucified and Europeans burned at the stake. It has been estimated as many as 6,000 Christians died as a result of this persecution.

In 1640 the Japanese government set up an Office of Inquisition for Christian Affairs to root out Christians. In an attempt to reveal secret Christians, they introduced the ceremony of 'picture-stamping', when people were ordered to trample on pictures of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. The Japanese church was all but eradicated; only a tiny remnant survived.



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